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THEOLOGIC

A

NARRATIVE

OF

THE VISIT

TO THE

AMERICAN CHURCHES,

BY THE

DEPUTATION

FROM THE

Congregational Union of England and Wales.

BY

ANDREW REED, D.D.

AND

JAMES MATHESON, D.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTER XXIX.

My dear Friend,

I have now disposed of all that I have to communicate in the form of narration. In this portion of the report it has been no part of my intention to exhaust my notes or my memory; but to limit myself in subject, and in detail, to those statements which, as they were most interesting to myself, I might hope would be most acceptable to you. There are some subjects which have been glanced at, and partially illustrated in the course of the narrative, which you will, perhaps, consider as worthy of further notice. These subjects, to avoid unsuitable digression, and to give them the attention which their high importance demands, I have reserved for separate consideration. Let me hope, that your interest is so far awakened that you will not be the less inclined to follow, because the subject assumes a graver and more settled aspect.

I can readily suppose, that on turning your thoughts in this direction, your first inquiries would be anxiously connected with that great religious phenomenon of this country—the Revivals; and it is, therefore, to these I would, in the first instance, direct my remarks. It was a frequent lamentation that we were not making our visit in the time of a general revival; but, while it would have been a source of great personal pleasure to have seen and felt more of the presence of religious influence, I think we could hardly have been placed in more fa-

vourable circumstances than we were, for the purposes of candid and calm observation. One of the most remarkable and extensive revivals ever known had passed over this people: it was sufficiently remote to mark the reaction which might attend it; and it was sufficiently near to be assured of its character and its history. My notices, though not wholly, will be mostly governed by either a silent or expressed reference to it.

I believe it is now well understood that the term Revival has become conventional, and that it describes the fact, that within a limited and comparatively short period, a church is greatly renovated in pious feeling, and a considerable accession is made to it from the classes of the formal and ungodly. Usually there is a previous state of spiritual depression amongst the religious people; and of irreligion and increasing wickedness in the neighbourhood. The minister, perhaps, and some few Christians, in the recollection of better days, lay it to heart. They converse of it; they agree to submit it to prayer; they influence others; other means are adopted; and in proportion to the diligent and wise use of just and scriptural methods, is the blessing.

I feel that these simple remarks, without designing it, have nearly disposed of what has been deemed the mysteriousness of this subject; but I must endeavour to place it in other lights, and surround it with more exact information. You are ready to ask, how it happens, if true religion is to advance, that it advances in this particular form? My reply is twofold; first, that they expect it, and, secondly, that they labour for it, in this form.

First, *They expect it.* All who have some acquaintance with human nature, will easily perceive how greatly this must contribute to the end. Man, under religious influence, is still a free agent, and the influence that governs him takes its form from the current through which it flows. Suppose two persons to be equally earnest for their salvation, and the one to have become so under the ministry of Whitefield, and the other under

that of Wesley. The likelihood is, that the disciple of Wesley would put out with his conversion some physical expressions, because Wesley made them a test of conversion; while the disciple of Whitefield would show no such signs, because they were not demanded.

These expectations are created partly by habit, and partly by circumstances. Their habits are entirely on this side. They have not to acquire a taste for revivals; their difficulty would be to destroy it. They are mostly the children of revivals; their churches have been mostly raised or nourished in revivals; their whole history, and that of their country, is greatly the history of revivals. Their seasons of revival are only a variation on the approved and constant practice of their pilgrim fathers. They had, if Presbyterians, their four-day sacraments, which were protracted meetings; and, if Puritans, their solemn seasons of fasting and prayer, which were usually, in the highest sense, periods of revival. While, therefore, a revival, exactly after their type, would be deemed a novelty in a church with us; with them, a church that knew no revival would be the exception from the rule. Custom, then, which is second nature, feeds their expectation.

Then, their circumstances are favourable to these expectations; and in several ways. Sympathy is no inconsiderable agent in a revival; and sympathy has freer play with them than with most. They have fewer lines of distinction in society; and those few are much fainter; so that there is far less difficulty in coming together. And even the distinctions which do exist, are often deemed invidious and hateful; so that those who are, by any circumstance, distinguished, are glad of an occasion to place themselves on a common footing. In consequence, the churches and the classes which compose them, have more association. What is done in one is quickly known to all; and the report of a revival at New York will vibrate, till it reaches Cincinnati; and the churches there, true to the fellow-feeling, will desire to possess its counterpart.

Especially, the circumstance of the people are those of uniform and great emergency. With a population advancing at the rate of one thousand a day, and a large part of this increase of unpromising character, the church would soon be overwhelmed, if she did not make some extraordinary efforts for her proportionate advancement. Then, the great passion of this people, in these buoyant and progressive circumstances, is hope; you might sooner destroy thought and action than depress them. But when this hope is found in alliance with religious character, it becomes christian hope; and animates the christian community as it does the commercial community, to high endeavour and irrepressible exertion.

This conducts me to the remaining portion of the explanation, which is, that *they labour* for the revivals they expect. As far as I could learn, this is uniformly the case. I know of no individual who would expect a revival independent of means; and I know of no church which has enjoyed a revival without the use of means; The means may be proximate or remote, more or less apparent, but always they do exist. Undoubtedly the most delightful change might happen, by a special communication of grace, without the intervention of any means; but I am now speaking only to the fact; and after carefully obtaining extensive information on the subject, I am prepared to say, that I know of no case in which means have not been employed.

There were, indeed, some cases which were reported to me before I visited the country, and some, also, while there, that were spoken of as unconnected with all means to the end. But I am now satisfied that the parties making such statements had too limited conceptions of the order of means; and, led away by the natural love of the marvellous, reported things to have happened without an instrumentality, when, in truth, it was only an instrumentality which they were too short-sighted to discern. It has been represented, for instance, that some revivals have begun quite suddenly, and before any means had been adopted to the end; and even when ex-

isting means were unfavourable. That, in some cases, even the minister has been taken by surprise; and that a revival has sprung up when the whole design of his frigid discourse was to keep it down. But on looking into these cases, it is found that less visible, though not less potent, means have worked to the issue. In a church so influenced, there has, perhaps, been a salutary sense of its depressed state resting upon it, and a desire for change; or there has been a striking revival in a neighbouring town, which has awakened expectation to the event; or the papers, which they read in abundance, may have reported revivals at a distance, and thus have impressed some with desire and prayer for the like advantages. And in the instance of the good minister, who was labouring to cool down his people, is it not evidence that he thought them predisposed to catch at the flame; and if this was their, state is it difficult for any one, who is conversant with the human heart, to perceive, that the course he took was the very means to bring on an explosion?

These means, then, which imply a preparedness of mind, are always acting, with more or less force, on this people; and they are of the first consideration. They place them, in regard to the more ostensible means, in the relation of conductors to the electric fire; while, without this readiness for excitement, the ordinary means might be used and repelled. Frequently it has happened, and does happen, therefore, that the mere notice, that a revival has occurred in the vicinity, or that a revival preacher is about to visit the town, supervenes a revival on the one part, and a hostile combination to resist it on the other

These observations may dispose of what is anomalous. But the general rule is, that, with whatever causation Divine influence may be, at first, connected, an approved revival advances in the regular use of regular means; and that its advancement is mostly in proportion to the discreet, humble, and persevering use of those means. You will expect that I should glance at them.

1. I would name *the preaching of the gospel with earnestness and fidelity.* It is generally admitted, that the momentous truths which concern our salvation are made very prominent in these periods of extraordinary effort; and that on this circumstance the soundness of a revival greatly depends. The sovereignty of God; his righteousness, in condemning the world for sin; and his free election of any to eternal life. The holiness, the spirituality, and the inflexibility of the moral law; the entire alienation of the heart from God; the complete obligation of the sinner, as a moral agent, to repent and do all that God requires, without delay; his voluntary and inexcusable disobedience, and his certain rejection of the gospel, till his heart is subdued by Divine influence; his need of an infinite Saviour, to make atonement for his sin, and an infinite Sanctifier, to renovate him in the love of God; and his entire dependence on Divine grace to accept, and justify, and save him. These are the truths which are then delivered with life, and carry life to the soul.

The preaching exercises, at such a time, are *more frequent* than is usual. Their occurrence is suggested by convenience and necessity. The extra services are taken, perhaps, on one or two evenings of the week, or other parts of the day, as may suit the attendants. Sometimes a whole day, or more, in connexion with the Sabbath, is set apart for the purpose; and, in that case, it would receive the modern appellation of a protracted meeting.

2. *Visitations.* These frequently take the lead; as you will remember they did in the case of Morriston, in revivals. The pastor; or the pastor and a brother minister; or a pastor with his elders; or the elders, two and two, acting under his arrangements; are usually the persons making these domiciliary visits. They are short, serious, and devotional, and are kept to the single object they have before them.

3. *Special Meetings for Prayer.*—They are regulated by the call there is for them; and are often attended

by fasting. They are, when rightly used, the soul of revivals, and animate all the services. The hand of God has, by them, been most directly acknowledged; the offence of man most freely confessed; and the blessing that was devoutly sought, was abundantly granted.

4. *Conference or Inquiry Meetings.*—These are instituted for those persons who have become anxiously concerned for their salvation; and who need the more exact guidance and encouragement, which discreet conversation can best supply. The pastor, with assistance, if the numbers require, passes amongst the inquirers, and in an under voice, invites them, in turn, to express their state of mind, and seeks to advise them in their difficulties. Exhortations and prayers are connected with these exercises. These meetings are often continued beyond the period of revival, and are carefully used in favour of young converts, that they may be confirmed in the faith and experience of the Christian life.

The instruction, which is regularly given in the Sabbath schools and in Bible classes, should, though not of a periodical character, be considered as contributing, in an important degree, to a sound and extensive revival. The young persons, who have been thus trained in religious knowledge, are in a state of preparation to admit and feel the power of the truth; and when they are placed in new circumstances in relation to it, and it is applied with unwonted force to the conscience, it is usually with the happiest result. Their previous knowledge facilitates the introduction of life, and regulates it when introduced. The first rush of living feeling over the heart is controlled by an informed understanding They give the more sure and pleasing evidence of conversion at the time; and are expected most to adorn their profession afterwards.

Still, perhaps, in the diligent use of these means, you are at a loss to account for the great effects, which are common to these seasons of revivification. Let me explain it in some measure.

1. These periods are looked to as the great seasons of

ingathering; and from this circumstance, the ordinary additions to the church are less, and the periodical additions greater. In a revival, a great portion of the church may have been recovered from what they deem a state of declension, and these are frequently numbered amongst the fruits of revivals. Very many have, perhaps, waited for a revival, to adopt an open profession, or to make a full surrender of themselves to the Saviour. So that these accessions are much larger at one time than is usual; though their average of increase may not surpass that of our healthy and prosperous churches.

2. Then, the mere enumeration of the approved means, does not supply you with a just idea of the use that is actually made of them. It is the *spirit* of the occasion, which gives it its character and success. Life pervades every thing. The people are raised above the ordinary level of existence; the mind, the imagination, the passions, are all wound up for unusual action. The very notice of a revival awakens every one. Some look to it with joy, as the day of their salvation; others shrink from it with fear and trembling, lest the contagion should touch them, and with the apprehension that it will; and others band themselves together, and resolve to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and harden their hearts, lest they should see, and hear, and repent, and be saved. None are indifferent—none are unmoved. You will, at once, see that this offers a fine field for Christian service. Usually, our great foe is Insensibility; but he is the first victim in a revival.

The way in which the means are used is surprising. All who, in this state of high excitement, have come under the influence of the truth, are ready for extraordinary action. For the period, but one object is before them, and it *possesses* them. They have found mercy, and they thirst to bestow it; they have dishonoured God, and they thirst to glorify him. They become missionaries for the time; and they move about in their families and their connexions, warning, teaching, and entreating, with tears, that they would be reconciled and saved.

The services of the sanctuary are imbued with this "healthful spirit of grace." In the psalmody, the prayers, the preaching, there is life. There is a reality and a solemnity in every thing, which is itself a means of conversion; and which, if the ungodly shall witness, the probability is, that he will be "convinced of all, and fall down and worship God." The ministry, at this time, has an uncommon degree of simplicity, decision, and pungency, about it; and of this the ministers are fully aware. On one occasion, on hearing a sermon, which was good as a composition, but not efficient, I remarked, "Would this do in a revival?" The answer was, "Oh, we don't preach so in revivals." On another occasion, when I had reason to complain of some flat and fine singing, I observed to a brother minister, that it was enough to extinguish a revival; the reply was, "Oh, that is not the way we sing in our revivals." I have nothing to do just now with this admitted difference, except as a cause working to a given result.

3. There is yet one other particular which may assist you to comprehend this important subject. In the application of the means used at these periods, great efforts are made to bring them to bear on the negligent and irreligious portions of the community. These classes are visited without scruple; sermons are delivered, and prayer meetings are held, expressly for their benefit; notices are given of these services, and they are canvassed by pious and zealous persons for their attendance, as they might be for their votes at an election. Tracts and books are lent; and if the first or second application fails, it is not the last; so that by "violence" those are frequently brought to the church who were never brought before. At Cincinnati, in the late revival, this was frequently done, and with the greatest success. On one occasion, a sermon was delivered to the young men of the town; and by these efforts the church was completely filled with this class of persons. The christian community, accustomed to assemble there, finding that their places were wanted, retired to another place, and continued in

prayer, that the address made to them might be successful. Such methods as these will account to you for that measure of increase which is common in revivals, and which would not be possible, if the effort were limited to the congregation.

This brief description will unfold to you, though imperfectly, what may be denominated the approved revivals of this country; and I presume that, as a matter of detail, there is nothing that can meet your judgment offensively. Before I pass to other views of the same subject, I am desirous of confirming and illustrating this statement by some considerable extracts from "The Narrative of the late Revival in the Presbytery of Geneva, in the State of New York." It is one of the most satisfactory accounts with which I have met; it can be entirely relied on; and it is the more important, as it arises in a district where much, and perhaps just complaint, has rested:—

"The year past has been, to the churches within our bounds, emphatically a year of the right hand of the Most High. In no year, since the settlement of our country, have we witnessed so many and such signal triumphs of the Redeemer's cause; or recorded so large an accession to the number of his professed followers, as the year which we are now to review. All our churches, which have enjoyed the stated means of grace, have been visited with revivals during the past year.

"The first special indication of a work of grace appeared in Geneva, early in the month of June, 1830; and the first subjects of it were members of the Female Seminary. At the close of the first week, after the attention became general, eight or ten were rejoicing in hope, and an unusual seriousness pervaded the minds of all. A weekly meeting was appointed, for personal conversation with those who were inquiring; another for those who were indulging a recent hope; and a season of prayer was observed, at the same time, by a small number of the church. Others, not connected with the

seminary, soon became interested in the work; and though it was not powerful nor general, it continued, with various degrees of interest, through the summer and fall: every week furnishing some new cases of hopeful conversion to God. Several seasons of prayer and religious conference were observed by the church, which were generally well attended, and apparently happy in their results; yet the members generally did not take that deep interest in the work which they ought to have felt, and which might have been expected. The revival, however, continued slowly, but steadily, to advance until December, when the number of hopeful converts amounted to more than forty."

"From the middle of January until near the last of March, the number of conversions was from twelve to twenty in a week; but, notwithstanding the power of the work, no irregularities were witnessed, no crying out in public worship, no boisterous expressions of joy, no audible sighing or groaning, and, indeed, little else than the natural expressions of a soul deeply impressed with its guilt, or calmly reposing, by faith, upon the Lord Jesus Christ. From the last of March until the first of May, the work was less powerful; though no week passed without witnessing some new cases of conversion. It was about one year from the time of its commencement before it entirely subsided. The whole number, who have expressed a hope of renewing grace, is about two hundred and seventy; of these, forty or fifty were members of the Female Seminary, most of whom, residing in other places, did not unite with the church in Geneva. The number who have united with the Presbyterian church is more than two hundred, making the whole number of the church, at the present time, five hundred and fifty-one.

"The *means* that have been most blessed in the progress of the work, have been the preaching of the gospel on the Sabbath, and at the stated lectures, and the ordinary performance of parochial duty; to which may be added, special meetings for prayer and religious in-

tercourse. The course of weekly labour has been, three services on the Sabbath; a meeting for inquiry, and another for prayer, on Monday evening; a service, addressed, more particularly, to the unawakened, on Tuesday evening; social prayer meetings in different sections of the village, and lectures in the more distant neighbourhoods, on Wednesday evening; the Bible class, followed by a season of prayer, on Thursday evening; a meeting for the instruction of the young converts, and another for prayer, on Friday evening; and on Saturday evening, a prayer meeting for a special blessing upon the labours of the Sabbath. The day was principally employed in visiting from house to house. The meeting of young converts was one of peculiar interest. Its object was *instruction* in the leading evidences of Christian experience and the practical duties of the Christian life: not only to guard young Christians against self-deception, but to imbue their minds with religious truth, to instruct them in doctrinal knowledge, and thus to lay a broad, and deep, and permanent foundation of Christian character. This service has uniformly been performed by a clergyman, and is still continued.

"To these general means may be added, the personal exertions of many members of the church, and of the young converts, generally in a way of individual influence. This influence was exerted, not in the public meeting, but in the private interview. The young converts did not become exhorters, nor arrogate to themselves the prerogatives of teachers; but testified their interest in the cause, by their personal exertions to bring others to a knowledge of the truth. A protracted meeting, of three days' continuance, was held about the middle of April. The services were ably conducted and well attended, and the interest, for the time, was considerable; but, so far as the conversion of souls is concerned, the permanent results, if any, were very small. It is now more than a year and a half since this work commenced, and from eight to ten months since, the

greater portion of its fruits were gathered in, and, thus far, the subjects generally appear well. In the admission of members to the church, it has been a general rule for the pastor and some of the elders to acquaint themselves, by personal interview, with the case of each individual previous to his examination by the session. In all cases, several weeks, and, in most cases, from two to three months, have elapsed, after they experienced hope, before they were admitted to the church. All have been publicly propounded, and have been received in the presence of the congregation. In testimony of the increased interest which has been excited in the cause of Christ, it may be observed, that the appropriations for religious charity have been nearly doubled the last year. The church now sustains one foreign missionary, at an expense of six hundred and sixty-six dollars; thirteen home missionaries, at one hundred dollars each; nine scholarships, of the American Education Society, at seventy-five dollars each; which, in addition to the appropriations for the Bible, Tract, Sabbath School, and other objects of benevolence, amounts to more than *forty-five hundred dollars* the past year.

"The present state of religion is, in some respects, quite interesting; several conversions have recently occurred, though there is not properly a revival. The public services are well attended; entire harmony of sentiment and feeling prevails in the church; the Sabbath School has about three hundred members, and the several Temperance Societies in the town more than eleven hundred. Four or five young men have commenced study, with a view to the ministry. The Female Seminary is flourishing, and several hopeful conversions have occurred recently among the pupils. A Manual Labour School has been opened in Geneva, with peculiarly favourable prospects. It has now between sixty and seventy members; about forty of whom may be regarded as the fruits of the late revivals, and are in a course of preparation for the gospel ministry. Most of the young men sustain themselves at an expense not exceeding

from fifty to seventy-five cents per week, and facilities are afforded them to earn, by their own labour, more than sufficient to defray this expense. The Lyceum is not a theological nor a collegiate institution, but strictly a preparatory school, designed to fit young men for an advanced standing in college, or for the counting-room, or for any other situation in which a thorough, systematic, and practical education is required. It promises results highly interesting to the church of Christ."

"Early in February a favourable state of religious feeling began to be apparent in Penn-Yan. Several days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, were observed; and the church renewed their covenant with God and each other. One individual before the first fast, and two soon after, gave evidence of a change of heart. The next week an inquiry meeting was appointed, at which ten or twelve persons were found anxious for their salvation.

"The meeting for inquiry was continued weekly, and meetings for prayer and religious instruction were attended almost every evening. The meetings for prayer were, for the most part, strictly prayer meetings. Sometimes a word of exhortation, or a hymn of praise, occupied a moment between the prayers; but usually the meetings which were appointed for prayer were employed chiefly in that exercise. The work continued with undiminished interest till the opening of the spring, when, by the pressure of worldly business, it began obviously to decline. At this time a protracted meeting of four days' continuance was tried with happy effect. Ten or twelve were added to the number of hopeful converts as the result of this meeting; and a much larger number from neighbouring congregations professed to have been born again.

"The services of the protracted meeting were a season of prayer at sun-rise, three sermons each day, and a meeting of inquiry, and another for prayer, at the close of the second service. Prayer meetings were also attended in smaller circles in different places in the vil-

lage. During this meeting, and through the whole revival, all the services have been characterized by perfect order and regularity, both as to time and manner. No public meetings have been continued after nine o'clock in the evening. In the instructions that have been given to the young converts, great care has been taken to guard them, if possible, against trusting in a false hope. Many, whose hope at first was strong and sanguine, were, on being instructed in the nature and evidences of a change of heart, induced to relinquish their hope entirely, and have since given conclusive evidence that it was at first but a delusion. This course of instruction and personal examination has, in all cases, been previous to their presenting themselves for admission to the church. The number received to the church is 123, and there are, probably, twenty more who will unite at a suitable time. The work, in all its leading features has been of a most precious character. While members of the church have been active and engaged, they appear to have manifested a deep sense of their dependence and unworthiness. In the early stages of the work, and while the church seemed relying on an arm of flesh, a desire was expressed by some to call in the aid of some itinerant evangelist, and that a course of measures might be introduced, which had been said to have been employed with success in other places. But the people of God were soon brought to see and to feel that in God alone was their hope, and no wish was afterwards expressed for any other means than the means of God's own appointment, nor any other aid than the aid of the Holy Spirit; and, with the exception of a morning prayer meeting, they enjoyed neither in preaching, nor measures, nor manner, nor means, of any kind, any thing, different from what has been common in the churches for many years.

"When we compare the present condition of this congregation with what it was six years ago, the change is surprising. Then but one family, where prayers were regularly attended, was found in the whole village; but

one man, except the minister, to lead in a public prayer meeting; no Sabbath school, no religious association of any kind, except a small female prayer meeting, and the church was then so small and scattered, that twenty-five could hardly be collected. Now there are more than fifty praying families; more than fifty who can lead, in an acceptable and edifying manner, in public prayer; a flourishing Sabbath school; an auxiliary to almost every benevolent society in the land; and a church of more than 200 members. The church is happily united in sentiment and measures, and the various objects of christian benevolence are sustained with increased interest and efficiency. In September, 1831, the pastor relinquished the charge of the congregation, being called, in the providence of God, to another department of christian labour. The church have, with entire unanimity, elected another pastor, and have the prospect of soon enjoying again the privileges of a settled ministry.

"The state of religion began to assume a more interesting aspect in Seneca Falls early in the autumn of 1830. For two or three years previous to this, the prospect had been gloomy in an unusual degree. Several perplexing cases of discipline had occurred, one after another, in rapid succession, till it seemed as if the very foundation was parting asunder, and the whole fabric crumbling down. But even then there was praying and weeping in secret places. Some there were who even then could look through the darkness and the storm, and could lay hold upon the promises of God. A female prayer meeting, the monthly concert, and some other meetings, called together a few constant souls, who knew where their strength lay, and there they were strong in the Lord.

"For a year or more previous to the close of 1830, favourable appearances had been witnessed, and some hopeful conversions had occurred. An increasing sense of the necessity of a revival was manifested on the part of Christians, and a kind of expectation was entertain-

ed by some, that the blessing was in store, and would be bestowed soon. A general impression prevailed that something must be done, and done soon. At an evening prayer meeting, it was proposed that each Christian present should engage to converse faithfully with at least one impenitent sinner the next day, and several engaged to do it. The result was manifestly favourable. Some time in December, at a little prayer meeting, an unusual spirit of prayer, an earnest wrestling of the soul with God, was manifest. Towards the close of the meeting, a request was made to the impenitent who were present, and who desired an interest in the prayers of God's people, to signify it by rising. Five or six arose. This was the first *public* expression of anxiety on the part of the impenitent. A general visitation of the congregation was now commenced, and many were found anxiously concerned for their souls. The meetings became crowded, attentive, and solemn. On one occasion, near the close of the evening service, it was proposed to such as were resolved to submit to God that night, to signify it by rising; seven arose, and all but one were the next morning rejoicing in hope, and that one embraced a hope soon after. The same experiment was tried two or three times afterwards, but not with the same success. It was, upon mature consideration, judged more safe, and more in accordance with apostolic usage, to press upon sinners the duty of immediate submission, and to do it without delay; to surrender themselves at once to the Lord Jesus Christ, and leave it there. Meetings for the anxious inquiries, conducted in the usual way, were attended with very favourable results. These meetings were evidently much blessed. The work soon extended to other parts of the town, where frequent meetings were held, and the same general course of measures pursued. The work continued through the winter, and resulted in the addition of one hundred and twenty-seven to the church.

"In April, a protracted meeting of three days' continuance was attended, it is thought, with *some* good

fruits. The preaching was designed to urge upon sinners the duty and the reasonableness of immediate repentance, and the renunciation of every self-justifying excuse. 'But,' says the pastor, 'I am afraid that the sovereign efficacy of Divine grace, and the reason of its necessity, were presented with less frequency than I now think should have been done.' Though these truths were often exhibited, illustrated, and enforced with the greatest plainness, yet it is now believed that a still greater prominence should have been given them."

The report, in closing its account of all the churches, concludes by the following observation:—

"This work, in its general features, has not been essentially different from former revivals, except that it has been more powerful, more extensive, and has enrolled among its subjects an unusual number who had been openly hostile to the truth. Less opposition has been manifested than is usual in revivals of so much power, and less, perhaps, than is usual has occurred in its progress, in which a captious, unbelieving world would find occasion to complain. The doctrines which have held a prominent place in the preaching generally, are the plain and humbling doctrines of the orthodox faith; the doctrines of our standards; of the Reformation, and of the Bible. These have been exhibited, not as matters of controversy or as problems, but as matters of fact and of faith. While sinners have been taught to regard the depravity of their hearts as total, they have been also taught to regard it as consisting in their own voluntary rebellion against God, 'whereby,' as our confession of faith expresses it, 'we are utterly *indisposed* to all good,' 'and wholly *inclined* to all evil.' Not the want of a power, but the want of an inclination to do the will of God. The inability predicable of the sinner in his depraved condition has been represented, as the standards of our church very forcibly express it, as an 'inability of *will*,' regarding the sinner as bound at all times to keep the whole law and to do the whole will of God. The doctrine of Divine sovereignty and Di-

vine decrees, the doctrine of election and effectual calling, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, and the final perseverance of the saints, together with all those leading truths which have long been designated, by way of distinction, the 'doctrines of grace,' have been constantly kept in view as the fundamental articles of the christian faith, and the only permanent foundation of christian character.

"The labour generally has been performed by the pastors and stated ministers; assisted in prayer meetings and parochial visiting by the elders and other members of the church. The young converts also have exerted an important influence, by personal conversation, and in meetings for social prayer. It may be mentioned, as one distinguishing feature of this revival, that the converts generally seem to have imbibed, in an unusual degree, the spirit of missionaries. No sooner did they indulge a hope that they had themselves accepted the invitation to the marriage feast, than they were ready to go out into the highways and hedges, and compel others to come in, that the house might be filled, and the table furnished with guests. In some instances the labour of itinerants was employed, but with few exceptions, with no very obvious success. Seldom, perhaps, has the case been known, in which God has so obviously honoured the means of his own appointment, in distinction from those of human invention, and the labours of a stated ministry in distinction from those of itinerant evangelists, as in the revivals within our bounds.

"The means which have been most commonly employed and most obviously blessed in these revivals, have been, in general, no other than the ordinary means of grace. In several of our churches protracted meetings were held; in some instances with desirable results, but in others without any apparent effect, other than might be expected from the preaching of the word in other circumstances. In some places, the practice of calling out those who were awakened, at the close of public worship, to take what was called the '*anxious seat*,'

was adopted. This practice was by no means general at any period of the revival, and in some instances, where it was at first introduced, it was afterwards discontinued, from a full conviction that so soon as it ceased to interest by its novelty, no beneficial results were accomplished by it. In most of our congregations, the usual method of holding 'inquiring meetings,' for personal conversation and instruction, has been found to secure the attendance of a much larger number; to afford greater facilities for instruction suited to the condition of each individual; and to be, all things considered, the 'more excellent way.'

"The religious services generally have been orderly, still, and solemn. Never interrupted by loud and boisterous expressions, nor painful to the ear of piety by an irreverent and affected familiarity with sacred things. No quaint and questionable expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of effect; no audible praying of females in promiscuous assemblies; nothing, in short, in the way of means or measures, except as above specified, which has not been common in conducting revivals of religion since the days of Edwards. From some of these remarks a few of our churches are to be excepted. These churches, however, were, with, perhaps one exception, without pastors, and the innovations which have been made upon the ordinary modes of worship, have been introduced by itinerent preachers, who do not belong to this Presbytery. But few, if any, of these innovations are now regarded as improvements, and facts have shown that generally, if not universally, the revivals have been most powerful, of the longest continuance, and most desirable in their results, in those places where there has been the least departure from the ordinary methods of conducting revivals in the Presbyterian church."

LETTER XXX.

My dear Friend,

It would certainly be pleasant to me not to disturb the impression which the former interesting statements will have made on your mind. But while it is impossible and unnecessary that I should present to you the whole material I have collected on this important subject, it is my first duty to see that what is stated shall be so equal and proportionate, as to give you a true opinion of the whole case. Already, perhaps, you will have wondered that nothing objectionable has occurred; since much that has previously reached you in other ways, has more or less of this character. The fact is, in this, as in other instances, that what is objectionable and extravagant wins notice; while what is excellent and approved seeks the shade, and remains unknown. Revivals have often been used as advertisements. A feeble, or a vain man, doubtful of his standing, or thirsting for illegitimate distinction, has looked to a revival, as he would call it, as his instrument. In his case the bolder measure was the better; he has committed himself to daring experiments, looked for hasty and dashing results, and has sent them, without delay, in dashing terms to the newspapers. Many of these statements have reached, unhappily, this country, and have warped many minds from a calm and just opinion. Let me, however, assure you, that these occurrences are as much the cause of lamentation to the wise and humble of that land, as they can be to ourselves; and that to take up a judgment of the case before us from them alone, or chiefly, would be as unjust as to determine the character of religion at home, by the extravagancies of Irvingism.

Apart from these unworthy instances, it is to be admitted, that a course of action in connexion with revivals has recently sprung up in many of the churches, which has created great division of opinion and feeling.

These practices have received the appellation of "New Measures," and they have the countenance of many in the leading denominations; and of the ministers who use them, some are of excellent talent, and undoubted piety. The two measures by which they are chiefly marked, and for which they are mostly blamed or applauded, are protracted meetings and anxious seats. The first of these, indeed, existed before, and the principle of them enters into the nature of a revival; but they existed under other names, and had a different character. In the earlier revivals, the meetings were made more frequent than ordinary, as the case seemed to require, and often a day would be entirely set apart for fasting and prayer. Sometimes a freer demand on time might become, from the interest of the occasion, desirable, and sometimes, where there was a predilection for the Scotch sacraments, or where the people, from being greatly scattered, found it very difficult to come together, four days, inclusive of the Sabbath, would be thus employed.

But with the friends of the New Measures, the protracted meeting does not arise out of the urgency of the case; it is a component part of the system. It is, agreeably to its name, rather one lengthened meeting, than a number of meetings admitting of intervals for worldly and social duties. It is seldom less than four days in duration, and is often run out to seven or more.

Undoubtedly, the discreet use of the protracted meeting, by giving solemnity to a special occasion, by fixing the attention on one subject, and by causing the whole power of truth and sympathy to bear on the conscience and affections, may be attended with the most happy and striking results. But the evils of making it an essential part of a system appear to be, that an undue importance may be given to it at the expense of ordinary and stated means; that the means supplied may be so far in advance of the spirit to use them, as may abate, rather than improve desire, and end in weariness; that many excellent ministers, in meeting the claims of such a period, will break down under them, as indeed they have

done, and be unfitted for their fair share of labour. Besides, where the length of the meeting becomes amongst the people the popular test of its excellence, there will be no bounds to this easy mode of competition. Already a seven-day meeting has a sound of reputation about it, which is denied to one of three or four days. Of course, empirical teachers have taken advantage of this impression, and have outdone all outdoing. They have held, some of them, fourteen days; some twenty-one; and recently an attempt has been made to hold a forty days' meeting. This party then, if length be excellence, has excelled all; and has, moreover, the benefit of a number which is frequent in Scripture, and is associated with sacred recollections. As you might expect, long before the forty days were expired, all patience and all feeling were exhausted. The pastor whom he professed to assist, I was told on the best authority, sought to meet his congregation on the usual evening, for the usual service on the following week, and he could not get enough people together to compose a prayer meeting.

The other measure which has been lately adopted, and which is, I believe, altogether new, has received the somewhat barbarous and canting denomination of "Anxious Seat." The practice is so styled from the circumstance, that after a sermon which is supposed to have impressed the people, a seat, or seats, before the pulpit, and in the face of the congregation, is cleared, and persons willing to profess anxiety for their salvation or conversion to God, are challenged to come forward, and to use them for that purpose. They are then made mostly the subjects of particular address and supplication.

Now I have, on several occasions, seen this practised, and have carefully sought information relative to it from its friends and its foes. I can readily believe that the employment of it may have been attended with decided evidence of usefulness in many cases. And I can as readily understand that a pious minister, truly awake to the importance of his work, and weary of the delay and indecision of many who wait on his ministry, may have,

from the best intentions, ventured on such a measure, rather than to stand in perpetual doubt of those he pants to save. Besides this, I well know, that a congregation may be brought to a certain state of feeling, which may authorize some special movement on the part of a pastor, who finds himself in exact sympathy with them, and which nothing could justify under other circumstances; and in such an untried and affecting situation, should his earnestness commit him to some indiscretion, it would be any thing but marvellous. Yet, after the best consideration of the subject, and the fullest admissions in its behalf, it does appear to me, and is, I believe, appearing to many who have tried it, to be, as a measure of action, unwise and unsafe.

1. In the first place, I am disposed to submit, that we have no right to establish such measures. It is certainly not an apostolic method. It is not within the limits of our commission. It is our duty to urge the authority of Christ on the conscience, and to insist on an entire submission to it; but, as I conceive, we have no right to make this particular movement the visible test of that submission. It is an undue encroachment on the rights of a congregation assembling on the authority of Christ, and professedly for his worship; and there is no reason why they should obey such a call to show their discipleship.

2. It is a bad auxiliary to the success of the ministry. That some good may arise from it, is not denied; this may be predicated of the worst things. Its general tendency is not to support the effect of the preached word, if it is wisely administered. Where it is introduced as a novelty, there is, indeed, excitement enough; but it is of the wrong complexion. I have seen a whole congregation moved by it; but their attention has been withdrawn from themselves to others; or from what was spiritual in themselves to an overt action of no importance any way to their welfare. The question has then been amongst the people, "Will *any* go? Will *they* go? Shall *I go?*" Questions which many are glad to enter-

tain, as a diversion to the conscience, from more serious and inward inquiry.

3. Then, as an evidence of character, it is certainly among the worst that can well be employed. It is a measure highly inviting to the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited; and it is equally repulsive and difficult to the timid, the modest, and reflective. I can hardly conceive of a delicate and well-educated young female, being able to meet such a demand in the face of a large congregation, unless she regards it as a duty to Christ, and a term of her salvation; and then, in obeying, she does violence to those feelings, which are the safeguard and the beauty of her character. I have seen such young persons shrink and shudder at the call, through modesty, and then comply through fear; and, when complying, writhing from distress under hysterical tortures. But who has a right to exact all this amount of suffering? And is it not the worse, if it is not only unnecessary, but prejudicial, to the end proposed, by diverting the attention to a bodily service, from what alone is of acknowledged importance?

4. Let me again observe, that where it is used as an evidence of state, it is likely to lead to hazardous and precipitate conclusions. I know that many ministers are very guarded on this subject; but with this caution it is difficult to prevent the anxious inquirer from regarding it, and similar signs, as evidences of condition. And in many instances, especially among the Methodist denomination, the anxious seat, or the altar, and the acts of rising or kneeling, are in reality, if not with formal design, made terms of state. They are used, too, not only to express the reality of awakened concern; but as tests of having "submitted to Christ," "found hope," and of being "true converts." Such notices as the following are common in the several religious papers:—

"Last Sabbath day I attended a camp meeting; it was orderly and solemn; and thirty-one professed to *indulge hope*."

"On Saturday, an awful solemnity was on the as-

sembly. On Sabbath morning three persons *gave themselves away* to Christ, and *were admitted to the church.*"

"A protracted meeting began on Monday. On the following Saturday the session examined twenty-one; *all of whom were next day admitted to the church.*"

"On the second day of the meeting, the *anxious* and the *converts* were called on to separate themselves from the rest of the congregation."

"On the last day," at another meeting, "about four hundred, if I mistake not, assembled in the anxious room. The converts being called on to separate themselves from the anxious, about one third *declared themselves converts.*"

A revival preacher, after delivering a sermon, called on the anxious to meet him in the lecture-room. About two hundred obeyed. He called on them to kneel in prayer; and he offered an alarming and terrific prayer. They arose. "As many of you," he said, "as have given yourselves to God, in that prayer, go into the New Convert-room." Upwards of twenty went. "Now," he said to the remainder, "let us pray." He prayed again in like manner. He then challenged those who had given themselves to God in that prayer, to go into the New Convert-room. Another set followed. This was repeated four times. The next morning he left the town, having previously sent a notice to the newspaper, stating, that Mr. ——— had preached there last night, and that sixty-one converts professed religion.

Need I multiply cases? or need I remark on those I have adduced? Apart from the last, which is too blameworthy to be common, has not the *spirit* of these measures a strong tendency to beget, on the part of ministers and people, an impatience of results; not of actual determination of mind, which we cannot ask, nor the sinner yield, too soon; but of outward and visible evidence, when, in truth, the case does not really admit of such evidence? Regeneration is, indeed, the work of an instant; but the evidence of it is the work of time. The

mere assurance on the mind that I am converted, is not evidence to me; and the mere assertion of it, can be no evidence to others. The proper fruits of conversion are the only safe evidence in either case; and there has not been time to produce or ascertain them.

The effect of such a course is, undoubtedly, to create a fearful amount of premature and unscriptural hope, and, therefore, of dangerous and destructive delusion. The effect again, on the church, is to fill it with unconverted, ignorant, and presumptuous persons, and to produce defection on the one hand, and corruption on the other. And this, in fact, has been the result. Of revivals, *so managed*, it is considered that not one fifth, sometimes not one tenth, have stood; and many of those who have remained in the church, have given painful evidence of the want of renewed character and conversation. If one half of those sixty-one, who were so hastily reported by the minister to whom I have referred, to be converted on one evening, should retain a false hope through life, and die with it in their right hand, where would the responsibility lie? or who would dare to incur such responsibility?

5. Besides the objections to the new measures thus taken, it must be stated, that they seem to have the faculty of generating a spirit worse than themselves, and which is chiefly to be apprehended. Rash measures attract rash men. Those who would have felt it difficult enough to manage an argument, or discriminate between a right or wrong affection, are struck by what is so tangible and so visible, and so capable of impressing the grosser and animal sensations. Without the power, and perhaps the piety of their teachers, they quickly usurp their places. As they have attained their stations by deviating from the usual way, they reckon that it is only to be retained by the same course; and their onward and devious path is tracked by the most unsanctified violence and reckless extravagance.

In fact, a number of young and raw men, previously unknown to the ministry, and without pastoral experi-

ence, instead of giving themselves "to reading, meditation, and prayer," have chosen this shorter method to ministerial efficiency; and the effect, wherever it has reached, has been exceedingly calamitous. They have announced themselves as the revival preachers; and have chosen to itinerate over the church; unsettling every thing, and settling nothing. They have denounced pastors, with whom they could not compare, men of tried and approved piety, as hypocrites, formalists, "dumb dogs," and as "leading their people to hell." They have denounced the Christians who listened to them; and have made submission to their mechanism the test of their conversion. They have addressed the sinner, under the name of fidelity, in harsh, severe, and bitter terms; and have been covetous either of submission or opposition. The endearments and ties of relative life have been sacrificed to the bitter zeal which has taught the child to disrespect the parent, and the parent to cast off the child. They have made, as many have recently in our own land, great, if not full pretensions, to inspiration; and have taught people to rely on impulse and impression in offering what has been called the prayer of faith. They have encouraged females to lead in prayer in promiscuous and public assemblies; and, in fact, have revived all the irregularities of the Corinthian church, as though they had been placed on record, to be copied, and not avoided.

The consequence has been most disastrous. Churches have become the sport of division, distraction, and disorder. Pastors have been made unhappy in their dearest connexions; they have stayed to mourn over diminished influence and affection; or they have been driven away to find in calmer regions a field of renewed labour. So extensive has been this evil, that in one presbytery of nineteen churches, there were only three that had settled pastors; and in one synod, in 1832, of a hundred and three churches, only fifty-two had pastors; the rest had stated supplies. The general effect has been to discourage revivals in their best form; to cast down the weak,

to confound the sober-minded, and to confirm the formalist; and to dispose the censorious world to "speak evil of the good way."

I was, as I have remarked, just in time to observe these effects; and while it is needful that I should report them, I must be careful with you, as I was with myself, that a wrong impression should not be received from them. They followed on the great revival of 1831; but they are the mere sediments of that flood of life, which went over the land, and blessed all things where it came. Much as it may be lamented, and right as it is to use it for future caution, the evil is as nothing compared with the good consequent on the revivals generally. That evil, too, is subsiding. Those ministers of most talent and character, who were carried away partially by the heat and interest of the period, are now reviewing their course. The madness of others will make them perfectly sober. The leading ministers of the country, and amongst them the best friends of revivals, have entered their testimony against them. The following extracts from a letter written by my esteemed friend, Dr. Beecher, will show you with how much wisdom, as well as determination, it is done. It will also, if I mistake not, powerfully illustrate a portion of the subject I have endeavoured to place under your attention:—

"To some of the consequences of a revival, conducted under such auspices, I beg leave now to call your attention.

"It will become more and more exceptionable. Urged by circumstances, men will do things, which, if in the beginning they had been predicted, they would have said, 'Are thy servants dogs, that we should do these things?' By degrees, however, all landmarks will be removed, and what was once regarded as important will be set at nought, and what would once have produced horror will be done fearlessly. There is nothing to which the minds of good men, when once passed the bounds of sound discretion, and launched on the ocean of feeling and experiment may not come to. But the

evil, which may flow from those who commence these aberrations, is but a drop of the bucket in the ocean of disorder and misrule to which they may open the door. There is nothing so terrible and unmanageable as the fire and whirlwind of human passion, when once kindled by misguided zeal, and sanctioned by conscience, and the idea of being reviled and persecuted for doing God service. They who did the deed may repent of it early, and stretch out impotent hands to stay the evil; and weep over the desolation, without being able to repair it. The restoration of Davenport to sanity, and his subsequent confession, did not repair the moral desolation which his conduct and principles had made.

"Another of the evils to be apprehended, is opposition on the part of good men, and the consequent disunion of the churches by a civil war. The peculiarities of the system I have recognized cannot go through the churches without opposition. Splendid by its early power, many have yielded to it who disapproved, for fear they might quench the Spirit; and many have been silent, because they feared that they might speak against a work of God. But when the work shall have given out its distinct character, and put off the natures of love and gentleness, &c. and put on those of wrath and strife; when other reformers shall hasten on to new discoveries, and surpass their predecessors as much as these surpassed others, and denounce them as they denounced those who could not go with them; when stripling imitators of pious men, having nothing in common with them but their imprudence, without their age and moral power, shall go out to outrage humanity, and caricature revivals of religion; then will these irregularities be met, and then the collision will be keen and dreadful. For, in every church, there is wood, hay, and stubble, which will be sure to take fire on the wrong side. All your periodical Christians, who sleep from one revival to another, will be sure to blaze out now; while judicious ministers, and the more judicious part of the church, will be destined to stand, like the bush, in the midst of

the flames; while these periodical Christians will make up, by present zeal, for their past stupidity, and chide, as cold-hearted formalists, those, whose even, luminous course, sheds reproof on their past coldness and stupidity.

"Another evil to be feared, is, that it will unavoidably array a large portion of the unrenewed part of the community against revivals and religion; and produce infidels, scoffers, Unitarians, and Universalists, on every side--increasing the resistance seven-fold to evangelical doctrine; withdrawing, in proportion, the voluntary support of the gospel; and consigning the precious cause of Christ, which ought and might govern public opinion, to the hands of a feeble, despised, dispirited few, who watch the holy fire upon the deserted altar of God. All forms of error will grow rank from the aliment of such violence done to the laws of humanity and to the laws of God. The extravagances of the pious in the time of Cromwell threw back the cause of vital piety in England for two centuries, to a state of imbecility and scorn, and has furnished topics to grace the pages of infidel historians, poets, and orators, through every succeeding generation.

"Another effect to be deprecated is, that it will prevent the great evangelical assimilation which is forming in the United States, and paralyze general efforts as much as private churches. The rumour of extravagance would soon begin to press hard upon the friends of revivals in New England; who could not and would not take the responsibility of justifying what they disapproved, and would be compelled, in self-defence, publicly to clear themselves, as having no part nor lot in such matters. There is also a large portion of the church out of New England, which is evangelical, but which is acquainted with revivals more by the hearing of the ear, than by eye-sight and experience; and who, between doubt and fear, are approaching the happy day, when the breath of the Lord may breathe upon them. Upon all these, a revival of extravagance and disorder

would exert a deadly influence, and for one generation, at least, protract the form without the power of religion. While all the enemies of evangelical doctrines and of revivals, would keep a jubilee, that these days of hated light had gone by, and given place to the reign of reason and formality.

"Another thing to be feared is, that meeting in their career with the most determined opposition from educated ministers, and colleges, and seminaries, all these in succession would be denounced, and held up as objects of popular odium, and a host of ardent, inexperienced, imprudent young men, be poured out, as from the hives of the North, to obliterate civilization, and roll back the wheels of time to semi-barbarism; until New England of the West shall be burnt over, and religion disgraced and trodden down as in some parts of New England it was done eighty years ago: when laymen and women, Indians and negroes, male and female, preached, and prayed, and exhorted, until confusion itself became confounded. There is nothing so powerful as the many waters of human passion, and nothing so terrible as the overflowing of such a scourge; and a dispensation so calamitous would be more intolerable, as it is so utterly needless, and would come so unexpectedly in the very dawning of a bright day. The nature of the gospel, and of the human mind, and the mode of exhibiting truth and conducting revivals, have been developed, and practised with such success, that in New England, and to a great extent through the nation, the conviction is established, that they are the work of God, and most benign in their moral influence upon the present as well as the future life. Extensively opposition is silenced, and the public mind is fast preparing to come under the influence of faithful preaching, and the Holy Ghost. In New England, revivals are becoming more frequent in the same places, and more general in their extent. There seems to be a joyful and rapid spread of the work of God: but one overflowing of a violent, ungoverned revival, would snatch the victory

from truth, and throw revivals back at least fifty years. It would be the greatest calamity that could befall this young empire. The perversion of the popular taste, and the extinction of the popular prejudice against learning, and a learned ministry, where an enlightened public sentiment, coupled with enlightened piety, is our all, would be to us, nearly, what the incursions of the northern barbarians were to the Roman empire. It would stop all our improvements, and throw us back in civilization, science, and religion, at least a whole century. It would constitute an era of calamity never to be forgotten, and be referred to by future historians as the dark age of our republic. There are parts of our nation, to which I might refer you, which were burnt over by such a revival some twenty years ago, where the abiding evils may still be seen in the state of society which has followed. And there, too, with all their extravagances of falling, and groaning, and laughing, and jumping, and dancing, were regarded by many, and by some very good men, as a new dispensation of the Spirit—a new mode of conducting revivals with power; and those who rode on the foremost waves, thought themselves to be, and were thought to be, raised up to be reformers in their day. Oh, my brother! if a victorious army should overflow and lay us waste, or if a fire should pass over and lay every dwelling in our land in ashes, it would be a blessing to be coveted with thanksgiving, in comparison to the moral desolation of one ungoverned revival of religion; for physical evils can be speedily repaired, but the desolation of moral causes is deep and abiding.

"Dear brethren in Christ, you must not, for a moment, suppose that I do not fervently love you; or that I ascribe to you, *in extenso*, all the defects to which I have alluded; but that I have drawn the outlines of a moral chart, which such a disastrous revival, as your present course could not fail to lead to, would amply fill up, I have not a doubt. That you will appreciate my motives, and not be offended, I cannot but believe;

and I have equal confidence that you will appreciate the considerations which I have suggested, and will, as fast and as far as possible, supersede our fears, by a course that all good men will approve and rejoice in."

LETTER XXXI.

My dear Friend,

I have thus, with some care, and not, I hope, at too great length, endeavoured to possess you with the result of my observation on the interesting and momentous subject of revivals, both in the forms which are deemed objectionable, and in those which are generally, if not universally, approved amongst this people. I am ready to suppose, that in passing through the account with awakened attention, it may have suggested such questions as the following; and of which you would be glad to find a solution. Are no evils attendant on the approved revivals? Are these evils capable of a remedy? Are the fruits of these revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances? Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements? Are revivals to be expected for our own country? If practicable, are they, on the whole, desirable? Let us just glance at these inquiries, so proper to the subject, and so important in themselves.

Are there any evils attendant on the approved revivals?

Yes, there are. They are liable to run out into wild fanaticism. The extravagances to which I have referred grew out of an approved revival; they were not consequent from it, but were incidental to it; they were an unlovely excrescence on one of the fairest reforms in the history of the churches. A revival is a crisis. It

implies that a great mass of human passion that was dormant, is suddenly called into action. Those who are not moved to good will be moved to the greater evil. The hay, wood, and stubble, which are always to be found, even within the pale of the church, will enkindle, and flash, and flare. It is an occasion favourable to display, and the vain and presumptuous will endeavour to seize on it, and turn it to their own account. Whether such a state of general excitement is connected with worldly or religious objects, it is too much, and would argue great ignorance of human nature, to expect, that it should not be liable to excess and disorder.

The evils to which this state of excitement exposes, may, however, be greatly qualified, if not wholly prevented. I know, indeed, some imagine, that they are already so fully master of the subject, that they can adjust the whole affair as they would a machine, and determine before hand how it shall act, and where it shall stay. But I do not admire their mechanism; it is too nice and too complicated, to be wise in itself, or useful for the occasion; and I freely confess, that the churches, both here and there, have something yet to learn on the question.

The churches in the States have indeed had considerable experience in these revivals, and there is undoubted advantage in this. The ministers have looked carefully at the subject, and have taken wise consultation on it; and there is obtaining amongst them a general agreement, as to the methods which are most effectual and approved. This is well; still I should rely for the prevention of evil, as also for the educing of good, not so much on the organization as on the *spirit* of the revival. The spirit of the true revival is humility and prayer; and if this were made prominent and predominant, as a sign and a test, by ministers and churches, it would strangle in its birth the evil spirit of vanity and vexation.

As far as instrumentality may contribute to the end desired, nothing appears of such importance as a wise and influential superintendence. The ordinary mind

may do for the ordinary occasion; but here is an occasion in which every thing is extraordinary, and which, like the storm at sea, will call for the utmost sagacity and steadiness of character. The management of such a period should never be allowed to pass into the hands of the untaught, the inexperienced, and the froward. Most of the extravagance which we have to lament has arisen from this source. The people have seldom gone astray until they have been led astray. In every case which has come to my knowledge, where a revival has been conducted by discretion, no blameworthy excesses have followed. The churches should look carefully to this. They could not employ their associated functions better, than by discountenancing, on the one hand, those self-constituted itinerant revivalists, untried and unknown in any other capacity, and who rise to notice by trampling on better men than themselves; and by claiming, on the other hand, in this best, but most onerous and most difficult of services, some of her best men; men of large pastoral experience, of great success in pastoral life, and of not only unfeigned but eminent piety.

Perhaps, however, the evil to which the revival, as it now exists, is most liable, is the danger of relapse. That there is room for this complaint must be admitted; and it is open to two or three remarks.

First, where revivals are pressed into excess, they carry the seeds of this evil in their own nature. We are so constituted, that our nature seeks indemnity for all violence done to itself. Excess of excitement brings excess of exhaustion, as surely as night follows day. Hence, when those have managed a revival who have not known where to stop, they have been confounded to find, instead of the results they expected, a deep sleep come over the people, from which none could awaken them.

When revivals are allowed to take, in common expectation, a periodical character, there is danger of reaction. Those who have received benefit by a certain method, if they may calculate on its return, will be disposed to

look to it exclusively. Hence, some churches have an exaggerated hope in the extraordinary means, and almost no hope in the use of the ordinary; they have obtained a dispensation to slumber through the intervals, on the promise of being thoroughly awake at the revivals. These circumstances, connected with a partial reliance on the same causes, have affected many ministers. They wear an air of despondency, and often preach under its chilling or paralysing influence, except they are expecting a revival, or in the midst of one; and, on this account, if such men would be more efficient in a revival than most, they would be less so at any other period.

This evil might be mostly prevented, by not allowing them to receive an intermitting and periodical form. Care should be taken to show that they are of a special and an extraordinary nature; and are not of equal importance with the means that are ordinary. They should be made subservient to, and not subversive of, the regular institutions of Divine mercy. They should be regarded as a remedy for a disease, and not as the aliment of vigorous life; to be used only as occasion required; and which occasion ought not, in fact, to arise.

After all, the reaction, on the whole, has been inconsiderable with the approved revivals. Where it has occurred most sensibly, the state of the church subsequent to the revival, as compared with the state previous, has still been a decided improvement. And in the best cases, which are very numerous, and still increasing, where the crisis has been regulated by a just and holy discretion, there has been no relapse. The state of excitement, through which they have passed, has, indeed, disappeared, for to be healthy, it must be transitory; but it has left upon its subjects that ardour of life, which has made them ready, with delightful elasticity, for every good word and work.

I think, then, these observations may dispose of the second as well as the first inquiry.

Are the fruits of the revivals equally good with those produced under ordinary circumstances?

I should say, decidedly, Yes, quite as good, and frequently better; only admitting that the work is real, wisely managed, and associated with proportionate instruction. Persons, so converted, are surrounded by more affecting circumstances, and receive deeper impressions. Perception is more awakened, conviction is more pungent, prayer is more ardent, the will more resolved. There is a prostration and a solemnity of feeling, which is never forgotten. There is, therefore, greater evidence of character, stronger motives for progress, and, as an effect of these, more decision of conduct. Most of their active and devoted Christians have been born in the revivals; and their most intelligent, pious, and successful ministers, have either received the truth at these seasons, or have had their incipient character formed and moulded in them.

This is as I should expect it; and it is in harmony with my experience. I have never found that those make the best Christians, who have taken the longest time in coming to a decision. On the contrary, conversion, when it has been long in developing itself, has been of feeble character; the subject of it has often been in doubt as to its reality; and in doubt and darkness, he has held a cheerless and unprofitable course between the church and the world, neither party being certain to whom he belonged.

Would not a continued advancement in knowledge and piety be preferable to these occasional movements?

Undoubtedly it would, if the average result of the supposed uniform movement were equal to the occasional one. But is not this a begging of the question? Do we know any thing, in fact, of this continued and uniform advancement? We are speaking of a mode of life; and all modes of life, known to us, are subject to the alternations of declension and progress. Is the spiritual life, whether personal or social, exempt from these vicissitudes? Has it no winter, and may it know no spring? In the course of twenty years, where is the church that has not had a comparative season of depression? And,

at such a time, what could have been a greater blessing to it than a sound revival? And might not such a revivification have been expected, in the use of the means of grace, in a special form, and with condensed power, as a remedy for a diseased and dangerous state?

Besides, let us take the best of the case, and suppose that the churches are not sinking into declension, but are making gradual and uniform advancement; have we ever known any churches in so happy and palmy a state, as that the blessings meant to be conveyed by a revival would be superfluous? Have we not a thousand congregations, and these the most prosperous, to which, as it relates to one half of their body, the blessing of a revival would not be as life to the dead?—who are untouched by ordinary means, and who require a last remedy,—if, indeed, there be such remedy,—and who appear as though they would perish if it is not applied?

Are revivals to be expected for our own country?

This important question, I am aware, has been frequently answered in the negative, on both sides of the Atlantic. But I am surprised that it should; for it must be in forgetfulness of the nature of the subject, and of the history of the facts. A revival, in the just sense of the term, is not local or circumstantial in its nature; it is a mode of life in the church, and wherever the church is found, it is found. The Acts of the Apostles is a history of the early revivals. The reformation from Popery was a glorious revival; and that from formal and dormant Protestantism, by Wesley and Whitefield, no less so. Of these, our country has partaken equally with America in the ineffable advantages. Wales and Scotland, too, have been familiar with revivals down to the present time; and more in the American type, because in a greater parity of circumstances, although they have not been so much known or reported.

More than this: I am not afraid to state, that all the essentials of a revival are to be found in very many of our churches at this very hour. This is not much known, and may, to many, seem a startling assertion.

What has occurred in one church, from diffidence, has not been communicated to others: this may be right, but I begin to fear it is wrong. The effect has been, that the aid of sympathy and example has not been called in; and the movement has not been so simultaneous, or so extensive, as it would otherwise have been.

But certainly, a good influence has been over many of our churches. Expectation has been created; special effort has been made; and on the expectation of prayer, and the labour of love, the promised blessing has come freely down. The slight illustration I gave of a case to the brethren of Connecticut, (and the half was not told,) satisfied their judgment, and filled their hearts with holy joy and thankfulness. A multitude of such cases may, I am persuaded, be supplied.

Are revivals, on the whole, desirable?

After what has been said, need I pause on this question? I speak not now of type or circumstance, but of a true revival; and I should say, it is unspeakably desirable. It is the one thing desirable. For ourselves, for our families, for our churches, and for the nation, most desirable! It would heal our divisions; humble our spirits; and convert us from the insignificant and perishable, to the unseen and eternal. It would infuse into our efforts for the world's conversion, intelligence, life, and power; and a measure of this comprehensive and decisive character, whatever may be its type, by which, not a few, but a multitude may be gathered to Christ, is demanded by the emergency of the times, and by the spirit and grandeur of prophetic testimony.

I have now spread before you what appears to me material on this very interesting subject. I might have taken a wider field of observation; but this would have required a volume of itself. The subject is, indeed, worthy of that more enlarged attention; and it will not escape my anxious thoughts. Meantime, I hope what I have stated will furnish you, though with a limited, yet with a correct miniature representation of the case.

In closing this letter, let me just remark, that I have spoken of the method of revivals as a means to an end If I have not made the influences of the Divine Spirit, as necessary to originate, sustain, and prosper such special methods, a distinct feature of the discussion, it is not that I have been insensible to its essential importance, but that it has not fallen within the range of my design. The whole economy of revivals, whatever that economy may be, will, without this agency, end in disappointment and confusion. But while, on the one hand, the best methods would fail without this influence; and while, on the other, it is to be admitted in the highest sense, that the Spirit of the Lord is not straitened; it is still to be fully understood, that he is pleased to attach his blessing to the use of adequate means, and in proportion to the use of them, and the spirit in which they are employed.

This, then, authorizes a concluding remark, which is by no means least in importance. It is this: that special circumstances demand special means. If the church has fallen into a manifest state of depression and worldliness; if she is making but slow and feeble advances in comparison with her privileges, the claims of the times, and the fair interpretation of the will of God, concerning her; if, within, she is afflicted with disorder, division, or lethargy; if she fails to shed forth a saving influence on the world around her; or if that influence and agency is not attended with a just measure of success; then her circumstances are special; and they require not that we should devise new and special means for her help, but that we should give special use to the ordinary means, and thus confer on them the charm of novelty and the force of condensation.

This is to me the material point. All that we have hitherto seen of spiritual life, personal or social, teaches us that it has a strong tendency to decline. That the uniform use of the same means, administered in the same forms, like the continued exhibition of the same medicines, have a tendency to lose their first power.

That should they be increased to any amount, even till they turned the church into a monastery, and be *regularly continued*, the effect still promises to be the same. The ordinary means require to receive a special character; but if this speciality of character were allowed to be permanent, it would become ordinary. Many have erred here, and have deprived themselves of the power of giving to the means entrusted to them an extraordinary character. Nothing more fully claims the serious attention of the devoted pastor; nothing, in his whole course of service, will be a surer test of his discretion and efficiency.

LETTER XXXII.

My dear Friend,

Having given a separate consideration to one peculiar exhibition of religious influence, I will now proceed to offer some information on the subject of religion generally. Some visible order will assist the distinctness of your conceptions; and what I have to communicate may, for the most part, fall under the following running heads: *Religious Opinions*, *Religious Denominations*, *Religious Economy*, *and Religious Societies.*

I have adopted the head of *Religious Opinions*, not for the purpose of making an excursion over the wide field of the church, and collecting together all the strange and amusing anomalies which may possibly be found there, and which are incident to our state of imperfection; but for the purpose of referring to those important differences which have recently created much discussion in the States, and considerable attention and anxiety at home. If these differences spread into other denominations, they are chiefly found in the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies. These bodies are, as you know,

decidedly Calvinistic in their professions; the one formed on the Westminster Confession, and the other mostly recognising the Saybrook Platform, which is of kindred spirit. The complaint is, that a considerable minority have been guilty of a faulty and dangerous aberration from these standards of orthodoxy, and of propounding sentiments in conflict with them. A friendly hand describes the points of difference as follows:—

"Sinners can repent without the grace of God, but never do. The nature of mankind, by which they are children of wrath, consists in their innocent natural appetites, which in time, always suggest motives which occasion sin and moral death. God has willed the existence of all sin, and yet every sin is contrary to his will. No sinner ever uses the means of regeneration, while a rebel against God. In regeneration, the sinner's wickedness is gradually reduced to nothing. The Spirit of God never operates directly on the heart of the sinner; but only on the truth, or on the motive, so as to give it an overpowering efficacy."

This is sufficiently metaphysical, certainly. The following summary, though from a warm friend of orthodoxy, is, I have strong reason to believe, drawn by a careful hand, and with much concern to make an impartial statement.

"The doctrines referred to are such as these. That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam than with that of any other parent. That he was not constituted the covenant head of his posterity, but was merely their natural progenitor. That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come in the world as perfectly free from original sin, as Adam was when created. That to speak of innate, corrupt inclinations, is an absurdity; that by human depravity, is meant nothing more than the universal fact, that all the posterity of Adam will always begin to sin, when they begin to exercise moral agency. That the doctrine of imputed righteousness is imputed nonsense. That the human will determines itself. That the impenitent sinner is, by nature, in

full possession of all the powers necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God. That he has plenary ability to repent and believe, without the special aid of the Holy Spirit. That if he labours under any kind of inability, either natural or moral, which he could not himself remove, he would be fully excusable for not complying with God's will. That man is active in his own regeneration; in other words, that his regeneration is his own act. That it is impossible for God, by a direct influence on the mind, to control its perceptions and choice, without destroying its moral agency. That we have no evidence that God could have prevented the existence of sin, or that he could now prevent any that exists, without interfering with the moral agency of man, and converting him into a mere machine. That he would, no doubt, be glad to do it, but is not able. That he elected men to life on a foresight of what their character would be; and that his sovereignty is confined to the revelation of truth, and the exhibition of it to the mind."

These statements are, indeed, of a startling character, especially as found in fellowship with the Westminster Confession. I have good reason to know, that they faithfully represent the opinions of many; but, at the same time, the wiser and more educated of those who have adopted the New Divinity, have never yielded themselves to such unphilosophical and heretical conclusions in their freest speculations. Recently, the most conspicuous and eminent men in this discussion, have made a protest on many of the charges which have been brought against them, which, in itself, is gratifying; and it will, without doubt, contribute to suppress the extravagances which have created apprehension. By this protest, they deny that they maintain the self-determining power of the will; they deny that they maintain, there is no tendency to sin in the nature of man; that sin consists in a mere mistake as to the means of happiness; that the Spirit, in regeneration, acts merely by the presentation of the truth; and that God could not ex-

clude sin from a moral universe. They divide the doctrines of the Reformation and of Calvinism into primary and secondary. The primary are: The entire depravity and ruin of mankind by nature, as the result of the sin of Adam;—Justification, by faith, through the atonement of Christ;—The necessity of regeneration by the special or distinguishing influences of the Holy Spirit;—The eternal and personal election of a part of our race to holiness and salvation;—and the final perseverance of all who are thus chosen to eternal life. And to these articles they profess to yield their full consent.

If these conflicting statements shall appear to have a neutralizing power, and shall lead us to the conclusion that the differences are not so great as feared, they are still considerable. The pupil, in his ardour and his ignorance, will usually leap to conclusions from which the professor would shrink; and whatever may have been the caution of a few pious and intelligent men, these speculations have carried many, who saw none of the difficulties, into the wildest opinions of moral power and human perfectibility which the wildest Pelagianism ever produced. The evil has certainly been great. The seeds of division and animosity have been widely sown. The people have been led to distrust their teachers; the pulpit has been familiarized to fine, but insignificant and perplexing, distinctions, instead of important and simple truth; and as the dispute and practice of religion seldom go together, it has been checked in its advances over the people. The peace and fellowship of brethren in the associations and presbyteries have been interrupted; the principle of *elective-affinity* presbyteries, unknown to the constitution of the church, has been made necessary; memorials on memorials have been presented by appellant and defendant; the chief business of the General Assembly, at its last session, was to deal with these differences; and so far from the determinations of the supreme tribunal being accepted as final, they have given birth to an Act and Testimony, and the calling of a convention previous to its next sittings.

While these differences are greatly to be deplored, and at first create much alarm, I do not, on a better acquaintance with the case, look on them with despondency or surprise. There are existing causes which may account for them, and there are also causes at work which may restrain and regulate them.

One source of these discrepancies is certainly the fondness which this people have, at least those of New England, for speculative opinion. Many have delight in metaphysical inquiry, though very few can master it. It is astonishing how much has been written in this discussion, and most of it with acuteness and power; though little of it with that command of the subject which reduces the complex to the simple, and sheds light where darkness was before. The men mostly engaged in it are of unquestionable piety: and, in their greatest aberrations, have not adopted opinions from dislike of Calvinism. They appear to have had, on the one hand, an ardent passion to arrive at the ultimate reasons of things; and, on the other, to relieve Calvinism of the burden by which they thought it to be oppressed. At present, unwilling to think they have laboured so long in vain, they flatter themselves that they have succeeded. When they shall have had time to look more soberly on the subject, they will find that the burden still remains. All they have done, all any can do, is to change its place, not remove its pressure. The difficulty is not, as many have supposed, proper to Calvinism; it is common to it, to Arminianism, Socinianism, and Deism; or rather it is common and proper to our very nature, when we seek, with our limited powers, to comprehend the relationships of man to infinity and eternity.

Yet, while it is professed that these discoveries, so far from weaning them from the great doctrines of Calvinism, have established their attachments, much humble caution is required. The very reference to discoveries in this connexion is somewhat ominous, as it implies a forgetfulness of historical testimony which is improper to the occasion. I say not, that no farther light shall be

thrown by devoted study on the relations and harmony of revealed truth; but I do say, that this discussion has little claim to such honour or distinction. This New Divinity is, in fact, many centuries old, and for as many centuries it has been exploded.

It has been considered, that, at least, these speculations are made safe, by preserving a distinction between the doctrines of religion and the philosophy of the doctrines. I have no objection to the distinction within just limitations; but if an aspiring mind is misled by it to place equal reliance on his reasonings about the doctrine, which will be to him the philosophy of the doctrine, as on the doctrine itself, I know of nothing that is more to be apprehended. He has already forsaken the proper ground of faith, which is the will of God; and if once the philosophy of the doctrine shall be in opposition to the doctrine itself, it is easy to see which will become the victim. Let us be careful, then, of a philosophy which is "heady and high-minded," and which is "falsely so called;" it will assuredly lead from Calvinism to Pelagianism; from Pelagianism to Socinianism; and from Socinianism to Theism. All heresy, the most subtle, the most mischievous, from the time of Origen to the present, has wormed its way into the church under these refined pretences; and we have nothing to learn on this subject beyond what the schools and the schoolmen have taught us.

The existing circumstances of the churches may also account in a measure for these differences. Without doubt, a large proportion of the churches renowned for "old orthodoxy," were cold and formal in their orthodoxy; and were little awake to the wants of the world. Their boasted Calvinism, too, was but a profile, and frequently a distorted, representation of the truth. The doctrine of divine grace was often so presented, as to become a soporific to the Christian, as to embarrass the preacher in his earnest and persuasive appeal to the conscience, and as to leave the sinner discharged from his sense of obligation and responsibility. When the breath

of life passed amongst the people, it cannot be matter of wonder, if this state of things was "tried so as by fire." Many who had been awakened to seek their own salvation, and were intent on the salvation of others, became impatient of their bondage, and, in casting away their bonds, were in danger of losing their armour also. They saw that certain opinions attached to the prevalent system impeded their course; they did not pause to ascertain whether they were indigenous and essential to it, or a mere excrescence; and in rejecting a system which gave a disproportionate view of the doctrines which have affinity to the Divine sovereignty, they gave an undue preference to those which related to human action and responsibility.

Excess brings recoil; and there is hope that those who, in the ardour of zeal, and the immaturity of judgment, have gone too far, will retrace their steps. But if these threatening evils are not only checked, if they are converted into positive good, it must be mainly by a wise improvement on the part of the old orthodoxy. The decided friends of the truth must not content themselves with assuming an elevated standing, and denouncing, as with authority, the heresy and the heresiarch; they must review their ways, renounce their errors, and remodel their opinions from the pure form of doctrine in the Scriptures. They must show that the truth has every way the advantage over error; and this must be done, not so much by a logical, as by a practical exhibition. They must show, that it furnishes them to every good word and work; that none can so well console the penitent or quell the rebellious; that none can so readily convince men that they are lost, and that they may be saved; that none are so fully prepared, by heavenly wisdom and heavenly charity, to enter and occupy the field of benevolent and christian enterprise. In such a course they would soon reclaim all who were worth reclaiming; and this happy qualification of opinion might lead the church to that fixed recognition of human dependence, on the one hand, and of human obligation, on the other, which so emi-

nently contributes to honour God, and to convince and save the transgressor.

The New Divinity and the New Measures have greatly coalesced; and they have given, for the time, currency to each other. Many pious and ardent persons and preachers, from the causes to which I have adverted, were disposed to think that the new opinions had all the advantage in a revival, and this gave them all the preference in their judgment. Where they, in connexion with the New Measures, have been vigorously applied, there has, indeed, been no want of excitement. The preacher, who firmly believes that the conversion of men rests on the force of "moral suasion," is not unlikely to be persuasive. And the hearer who is told, "he can convert himself;" that it is "as easy for him to do so as to walk;" that he has only "to resolve to do it, and it is done," is not unlikely to be moved into self-complacent exertion. But it may be asked, Do either the preacher or hearer possess those sentiments, which are likely to lead to a true conversion, and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance?

By their fruits ye shall know them. There has certainly been good done where there has been much evil; for with this evil, there has still been a large portion of divine truth. But I fear not to say, that where there has been the largest infusion of the New Divinity into the New Measures, there has been the greatest amount of unwarrantable extravagance. There has been great excitement—much animal emotion and sympathy—high resolves, and multiplied conversions; but time has tested them, and they have failed. Many see this; the candid and observant are weighing it; and the effect, I trust, will be, as I have already intimated, that the truth will be separated from error, and error from the truth, and that it shall become "mighty through God to the pulling down of strong-holds, and of every thought and imagination that exalteth itself against the Lord, and against his Anointed."

Finally, to understand this subject in its just relations,

you must remember that a remarkable change has been effected in the position and character of religion, amounting, indeed, to a reformation, within the last thirty years. When so much has been done in comparatively so short a period of time; when many thousands have been added to the churches, some with doubted claims to the christian character, and most with a very slender acquaintance with the distinctive truths of the gospel; and when the people are always, and in every thing, borne on by the buoyant hope of seeing something more wonderful than they have witnessed; it can be no matter of surprise that the noviciate should start into extravagancies, under the expectation of solving difficulties, the force of which he has not felt, and of discovering methods of action which appear efficacious, and which he concludes have not been tested. It may have happened with religious inquiry as it has happened with mechanical invention. I saw, in the Patent Office of this country, some thousands of inventions, each one claiming, in ignorance of what had previously been done, decided originality; when, in fact, it mostly appeared, that what was introduced as a valuable invention, had been discovered, and tried, and failed an age before.

But the excesses, making the most of them, are as nothing compared with the benefits. They are not greater, not so great, as those which attended the last great reformation in this country; and who would think now of adducing certain extravagancies of that period against the revival initiated by Wesley and Whitefield, and all the substantial good which it has conveyed to us? When so much can be said for the American churches, and when it is considered that the religious movement there has been greater within a given period, and that it has taken place where the social institutions and habits were far less fixed than our own, it cannot be deemed feeble praise; and may become a tributary evidence, that the "work is of God."

I hope I have now succeeded in imparting to you some just conception of this subject. I might have more

easily disposed of it by the introduction of manifold quotations and documents; but I think this would rather have perplexed than have assisted your judgment. My desire has been to give, in the smallest space, a condensed and proportionate view of the case; and we conceive truly even of facts, not as they are presented in their naked form, but as they are connected with their causes, and surrounded by the incidents which are proper to them.

I have been the more careful, because the subject is of importance to ourselves. Before I left this country, some attempts were made to supply us with the *rationale* of Calvinism, by the adoption of some of the more objectionable opinions of the New Divinity; and since my return, a clergyman, who has seceded from the Episcopal church, has been strangely allowed to enact the objectionable parts of the New Measures in the Methodist pulpits of the Metropolis. I am fully desirous that we should import what good we can from America; but it would be sad, indeed, if we should covet the evil and despise the good; and it would be ridiculous as well as pitiable, to be adopting, as interesting novelties here, what have already become obsolete nullities in the estimation of the wise and the good there.

For my own part, all that I have seen of the new methods, both of thought and action, incline me to think that our true wisdom will consist in "asking for the old ways." The churches will not evince their wisdom by comparing themselves among themselves, or by inquiring for some new thing; but by recurring at once to the old apostolic models. We must re-model ourselves upon these. The divinity we want is such as we find in the Epistle to the Romans, free from the glosses of German neology; and the revivals we want are precisely such as glorify the Acts of the Apostles. Let us only preach as they preached, and pray as they prayed, and a new era is begun! And while waiting in humility on such teaching, if there be "any other thing, God shall reveal even this unto us."

LETTER XXXIII.

My dear Friend,

I am now to offer some remarks on the leading Denominations in the States; and as your attention has been already engaged by two of them, I shall dispose of these first.

The Presbyterian body, if not the strongest in numbers, is certainly so by standing and consideration. It has nearly 2,000 ministers, about 2,500 congregations, and upwards of 200,000 communicants. It resembles exceedingly its kindred body in Scotland; and where this resemblance exists, I may be exonerated from remark. I had large and fraternal intercourse with its clergy; they are amongst the excellent of the land; and, as far as I could learn, whatever may be the differences of opinion, they compose a regenerated ministry. It is this that gives them their efficiency; and this also supplies one with the assurance, that there are no deviations but they will find a speedy corrective.

This body holds a remarkable connexion with the Congregational denomination. They have each, indeed, "a local habitation and a name;" the Presbyterian having its stronghold in the middle states, and the Congregational being established in the six states of New England. The common understanding is, that on passing the geographical line which divides these states, the party shall so far yield his distinctive opinions on church government as to unite with the prevailing profession, and he is passed from the one church to the other by the ordinary certificate. This compact includes ministers as well as the laity; and it is no uncommon thing to find the man who was a Congregational pastor to-day, a Presbyterian to-morrow.

It has been thought that the Congregational body suffered by this concession; and this opinion is confirmed,

on finding that so many more pass from New England into the other states than do from them into it. But it is entirely corrected by closer inspection. In consequence of this practice, there are scarcely any Presbyterian churches in the whole of New England; but, in defiance of it, and the usual observance of it, a number of Congregational churches are springing up in the other states, and are gathering themselves into associations.

What is much more important to observe is, that the great numbers of Congregationalists, both ministers and people, who have passed into the Presbyterian church, have not forgotten their predilection for a more simple and less restricted form of government. This has operated silently, but with power; and the effects begin to be seen and felt. It has contributed certainly in its measure to that conflict of opinion and conduct which I have already noticed. The Congregationalist has been charged with policy in looking to this result. But this is too much. The movement is not the effect of design, but of circumstances; and the circumstances remaining the same, the same results will follow, though policy should conspire to prevent them. And, speaking impartially, I know not that this is to be regretted. While it supplies us with the edifying and scarce example of two religious bodies dwelling in amity and oneness; it may, in the end, by the influence they shall exert on each other, supply us also with the example of a church possessing within herself all the advantages of independency, and all the force and beauty of consolidation.

The Congregationalists must, unhappily, be divided into Orthodox and Unitarian. The Orthodox, including some forty churches out of New England, amount to upwards of one thousand congregations. The ministry is composed of a body of educated, pious, and devoted men; and though they have not been free from the causes of collision already cited, as associated bodies, they remain in peace. This is rather to be ascribed to

the absence of judicial power, than to the want of provoking occasion for its use.

When this body was the standing order, or, in other terms, the established religion, there was a great disposition to symbolize with Presbyterian principles; and the Consociation promised to clothe itself with synodical powers. But that time is past; the tendencies now are certainly the other way. The pastors, equally with the people, have renewed their attachment to the principles of their fathers; and they profess to be confirmed in their attachment by all that transpires around them. They are warmly attached to their associations, which have an advisory power; but they are opposed to any body being clothed with legislative or judicial faculties.

The union between the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies is recognized, by the reception of delegates to sit in the principal conventions of each.

The Congregational body is dishonoured and enfeebled by the defection of Unitarianism. You will, perhaps, expect me to remark more freely on this subject than on some others.

The Unitarians have, in the United States, 170 religious societies, and 150 ministers. In Massachusetts, they have about 130 societies, and 110 ministers. In Boston, which is their stronghold, they have twelve societies, and seventeen clergy, including two who are assistants, and three at large. With the exception of Boston, the congregations are very small; in that city, they average about 600, and out of it, about 100. Their communicants are still lower, in comparison with other denominations.

This subtle spirit of error, for a long time, concealed itself under the forms of orthodoxy; and it would have been content to do so till the present time. Cotton Mather says, till 1716 there was not a minister known who denied the proper divinity of Christ. Even within our own day, there was little suspicion of the defection; and there was no desire to avow it on the part of the de-

linquents. It was positively in England that the truth was first published to the astonished churches of America. Belsham, in his Life of Lindsey, boasted of the strength of Unitarianism in Boston; and, I believe, referred to communications made to him on this subject. Dr. Morse seized on this indiscretion; and challenged the ministers to avow themselves. This led to an explosion. Concealment could no longer be practised, and they had made sure their footing; so that they had some confidence in doing what they could no longer avoid. When the declaration came, it was fearful indeed. In Boston, every thing was gone, except the Old South Meeting; and within a radius of fifteen miles, not ten ministers could be found, of the Congregational order, holding "the truth as it is in Jesus."

But the explosion was followed by no abdication. These men had taken office as the friends of orthodoxy; but there was no resignation of it on the announcement of their errors. Considerable property had come into their possession from orthodox hands, by orthodox trusts, for orthodox uses; but it was retained, and is still retained, for heterodox purposes. So that the case here is the exact counterpart of the case in England! Men may, most conscientiously, change their opinions, and, as we may think, for the worse; but where is the conscience, where is the honour, of diverting property and place, which were never meant for them, from their known legitimate uses? Whatever may have been the errors or omissions of predecessors, surely it is time, for all who value principle more than profit, to wash their hands of such things!

Unitarianism is confidently said to be still increasing in this country. I am prepared to say, as confidently, that it is not: that it is declining, and declining rapidly. So far as Boston is concerned, the following account, with which I have been favoured, will abundantly satisfy you. It is likewise so interesting in itself, and relates to so important a question, that I imagine you will be thankful for its insertion entire.

"PROGRESS OF TRUTH IN BOSTON.

"The present enlargement of the evangelical churches in Boston is so great, and the growth has been from such small beginnings, we think gratitude requires that they should not be concealed from the public.

"In the year 1803, religion had greatly declined from the principles and practices of our pilgrim fathers, in all the Congregational churches. All the Congregational ministers in Boston, except Dr. Eckley, of the Old South, had become Unitarians, though they did not openly avow it. There were no weekly lectures, no conference meetings, no church meetings, no foreign missions, education, tract, or Bible societies; no Sabbath schools, no monthly concert, no religious newspapers. The church appeared to be swallowed up in the world. But the Great Head of the church had yet reserved a few hidden ones, who had not departed from the faith. A small number of pious mothers in Israel had, for several years, attended a private meeting for prayer, where they mourned over the desolations of Zion, and besought the Lord to revive his work. Early in the year 1804, a few brethren of the Old South church, being grieved by the low state of religion, made an effort to have a public evening lecture established. The church agreed to the proposal; but the pew proprietors opposed it, and succeeded in preventing it. Finding they could not prevail in this measure, *eight* brethren held a meeting, in March of that year, and formed a "Society for Religious Improvement;" not thinking it prudent to call it a *Conference Meeting*. Their state of feeling and inexperience, however, were such, that for several weeks, they *could not pray together;* but only read the Scriptures, and conversed on religious subjects. In about a month after their first meeting, they felt a freedom to unite in prayer; and finding their faith and strength increased, they prevailed on Dr. Eckley to establish a weekly lecture in a private house; but they continued their society meetings as before. They then

resolved to give themselves to more earnest prayer. The Lord soon put it into their hearts to build a new house for public worship, where the gospel should be faithfully preached, without restriction. As soon as this determination was known, it was opposed by members of the Old South church, on the ground that it would injure their church. As opposition increased, so also friends and helpers were raised up; and after importunate prayer, continued for five years more, in February, 1809, the meeting was held, which resolved immediately to carry the plan into effect. Measures were taken to build a house for public worship in Park-street; and to organize a church which should guarantee the faithful dispensation of Divine truth. So low was the state of religious feeling, that even the Old South church refused to assist in the organization of the new church; but they 'went on building,' and the Lord prospered them. Park-street meeting-house was dedicated in January, 1810; and though heresy came in like a flood, the Lord enabled the little church of but twenty-six members, to maintain the standard of truth which they had erected. The 'Society for Religious Improvement,' discontinued their meetings, when Park-street church was formed.

"After a contest of nine years more, against error and misrepresentation, it was found that another house, for the pure worship of God, was necessary; and the Lord inclined a pious man, now almost ripe for heaven [since dead] to erect a meeting house in Essex-street. In the meantime, the Old South church was favoured with the faithful labours of Mr. Huntington, first as a colleague, afterwards as successor to Dr. Eckley. That church was increased in numbers, and in its attachment to the true gospel; and in the year 1822, a delegation of ten brethren was sent by Old South and Park-street churches, to strengthen the feeble church in Essex-street, now called Union Church.

"This first attempt at the system of colonizing churches was approved and blessed by their gracious Lord. In 1823 and 1824, the Lord poured out his Spirit

on the three churches, and a powerful revival of religion was the means of adding to Park-street Church one hundred and twenty members; to the Old South, one hundred and one; and to Essex-street, sixty-two: total in Boston, two hundred and eighty-three. The work also extended to Mr. Fay's church in Charlestown, to which sixty-five were added.

"In 1825, a new meeting-house became necessary, to accommodate the friends of truth in South Boston, and was accordingly erected, with the aid of brethren in the abovenamed churches; and another church was organized there, which maintains the truth as it is in Jesus.

"Encouraged by these successful efforts, the friends of Christ resolved to erect a meeting-house in Hanover-street, which was dedicated March 1, 1826, and a church, composed of thirty-seven delegates from the other churches, was planted there, and has since increased more than fourfold.

"The friends of the Rev. Dr. Jenks, who had been labouring in the city for several years as a missionary, resolved to erect a meeting-house for him, in Green-street. This was completed in October, 1826, and a church organized there, which has since been greatly increased.

"Another revival of religion has since been granted to the churches. It commenced in Essex-street church, in January, 1826; extended, within a few months, to the other churches, and still continues. In 1826, there were added to Essex-street church, fifty; Hanover-street, forty-five; Park-street, twenty-four; Old-South, fourteen. Total in 1826, one hundred and thirty-three. The additions in 1827, were, to Old South, ninety; Park-street, seventy-two; Essex-street, seventy-six; Hanover-street, one hundred and eighty-seven; Green-street, ninety-eight. Total in 1827, five hundred and twenty-three. The whole number added, during the present revival, is seven hundred and thirty-five. A portion of these were by letter from other churches in the country.

"The Lord having succeeded every attempt to enlarge his kingdom, a meeting was held on the 21st of March, 1827, to consider whether it was not expedient to erect another house for God. It being doubtful whether it was most needed at the north or south part of the city, it was resolved to erect *two;* one in Pine-street, and the other in Salem-street. These were completed about the 1st of January last, (1828,) and churches, principally composed of delegates from most of the other churches, now occupy these temples of the Most High, and maintain public worship.

"There are now nine commodious houses for public worship, with orthodox churches, embracing 1700 members; and all are favoured with faithful devoted pastors.

"During this time the Lord has not confined his blessings to Boston, but has enabled his people to erect houses of worship, and organize churches, which have held up the light of divine truth amidst surrounding error, in Medford, Waltham, Cohassat, Concord, Walpole, Bridgewater, Cambridgeport, Brighton, and several other places in this part of the commonwealth.

"Since 1804, when those *eight* brethren assembled to inquire what the Lord would have them do, and had not strength of faith enough to pray together, *behold, what God hath wrought!* 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto his great name, be all the glory, for ever.'

"It should also be mentioned, as matter of praise and gratitude to God, that during the period of declension alluded to above, the two Baptist churches in this city, with their venerable pastors, Stillman and Baldwin, held fast the faith once delivered to the saints, and that they have established additional churches in commodious houses of worship in Charles-street, and in Federal-street, and in the adjoining town of Roxbury, and other places. They have also had considerable additions to their churches during the present revival."

This is evidence sufficient for Boston, and the same evidence might be given at length of churches spread

over the state. In many instances where the minister has avowed himself, and yet resolved to retain the pulpit, a secession has occurred, and another place been built; so that he has been left without a congregation. In most places, there is some mixture of orthodoxy in the audience; and on this account the minister does not mostly insist on his peculiarities; for commonly the retirement of the orthodox is the ruin of the interest.

Every where they are going down. They still retain what endowments they held; and in Boston, they have the wealth and fashion of the place about them; and they have the honour of being considered as the friends of the elegancies and literature of more refined life; but, as a sect, holding certain peculiarities which distinguish them from others, they are impotent indeed. "Rich, but inefficient," as it has been used by one of their zealous champions to characterize that portion of their body in the father land, may be employed with equal significance here. Since they have avowed themselves, they have taken the field in their own defence. But, with perhaps a decided superiority in letters and in adroitness, they have been beaten from every post. They first took the ground of biblical criticism; and were driven back to the ground of rational religion. From this again they were forced; and then they ventured to rest the conflict on the tendencies of the systems. Did they not know that Fuller possessed this ground unquestioned? They have now come frankly to the question, Is the Bible an inspired book?

The summary, then, on the subject is, that this defection from the truth is of a limited nature, and is now in a state of retrocession. In Massachusetts, to which it is almost entirely confined, its churches, as compared with the orthodox congregations alone, are not more than as one to three. And yet by this test, they appear stronger than they are, for most of their churches are poorly attended; and many who do attend are attached to orthodoxy, and would leave if the preacher should venture on a plain announcement of his peculiarities.

In Boston, there are, as we have seen, in the Congregational denomination, nine churches against thirteen; and the communicants of the fewer churches greatly exceed those of the major number. Besides these are to be reckoned the orthodox of the other persuasions; so that even here, on any question of interest which would unite the orthodox bodies against the heterodox, they have a decided majority. Boston only wants one man to arise, of philosophical mind, fine taste, and eloquent parts, who shall have been redeemed from these errors, and who shall present the truth, with pious earnestness, to the understanding, by the aid of the imagination and affections, to expel this sophistical spirit from its last hold among the literary and the polite of society.

Of its general feebleness, two little incidents may assist you to a confirmed opinion. When this system was in its power and progress, it managed to get the Massachusetts' Bible Society under its control. The consequence was, that the orthodox quietly retired, and formed a society for themselves. The original society, in the hands of the Unitarians, actually disposed, last year, of twenty-one Bibles!

The Unitarian Association, which has in trust the general propagation of their system, by preaching, the distribution of tracts, &c. &c. raises annually about 17,000 dollars! "Rich, but inefficient."

Having given the facts of this case, let us look into its philosophy. Many have found it extremely difficult to account for this defection; and some have appealed to it as a practical argument against the principles of Independency. After giving the best attention to the case, I am disposed to refer it chiefly to two causes. First, the increasing wealth and consequent worldliness of the people inclined them to it. Their fathers were truly pious; but the children, though brought up strictly, were coming under the influence of worldly prosperity, and were mostly strangers to the regenerating power of religion. They had a dislike to the strict and mortifying claims of a regenerated ministry, and yet they could not

persuade themselves to abandon those forms of religion in which they had been rigidly educated. They sought a medium between infidelity and vital religion. Unitarianism offered one, and it succeeded. The worldly, if they have any, must have a worldly religion.

In the next place, it is most certain, that this evil arose principally from having made Congregationalism an established and State religion. What the Puritans did, they did most piously indeed, but not wisely. They were suffering for conscience' sake; yet they did not understand the rights of conscience, nor the genius of the New Testament. The lust of power is so deeply rooted in the hearts of men, that these, perhaps, are among the last claims of our holy religion to be comprehended and exemplified. They resolved on the establishment of that religion for which they suffered all things, to the exclusion of every other form of faith and discipline. It was made "The Standing Order;" it was illustrated by creeds and confessions; and it was protected by Test and Corporation Acts, with penal sanctions. It was thus, in their judgment, placed above the reach of accident, and the corruption of time. This, however, was poor short-sightedness. The very means they had devised for its support were the means that humbled it to the dust.

It was provided, that none should dedicate their children by baptism, or hold civil offices in the State, except they were in church membership. But, in course of time, many were exceedingly desirous of claiming the religious privilege for their children, and of seeking the civil distinction for themselves, who were not at all prepared for fellowship with a spiritual body. This induced many to adopt a hypocritical profession; while it inclined others, as they derived confidence from numbers, to complain and resist. The Standing Order, already deteriorated by the action of its own safeguards, found itself in a critical state; and, rather than lose its influence, it proposed the memorable Half-way Covenant. This was, in fact, a sinful compromise with the world;

and provided, that those who respected the outward means of religion, but who gave no evidence of its renewing power, should be admitted to membership. It prevented secession; but it spread worldliness and death over the whole church.

If I were giving a historical sketch of the period, it would gratify me to show how minor causes contributed, with this primary cause, to the bad consummation. But is not this sufficient to satisfy you, that the church had treacherously prepared herself for almost any corruption, and perhaps for none so fully as for Unitarianism? It would leave them in their worldliness, while it would not shock their morality; it would preserve to them the form of religion, while it would not trouble them with its power; it would flatter their reason; applaud their virtue; be satisfied with their compliances; explain away their difficulties; and leave them at ease in their possessions and pleasures!

These statements may well be considered to contain a most beneficial lesson for the churches; and surely, at the present time, it is a lesson that cannot be neglected! Let who will seek the benefits of a State establishment; but let all who would have a wise regard to the interests of true piety, and the nature of the kingdom of heaven, decline them with settled and calm determination.*

LETTER XXXIV.

My dear Friend,

I must now, with brevity, make some final references, under the head of Denominations. The Baptist is a large and thriving community. It reckons to have 3,397 clergy; 5,345 churches; 325,461 communicants; and

* Of course, these remarks are not meant, in any case, to affect a *question of property*. I merely seek to express a serious conviction as to the *religious efficacy* of two systems.

this, exclusive of the Freewill Baptists, the Seventh-day Baptists, and the Six Principle Baptists. Its great strength lies in the West and South; and the number of its members is greatly swelled by the large accessions made from the slaves; while that of the ministers is increased by the easy terms on which the ministry may be entered. Indeed, in many parts, the line of separation between what is clerical and what is laical is faint indeed. Ignorance is the patron of ignorance; the people have been there, as they were extensively here, jealous of a learned and well-trained ministry; and antinomianism, which favours ignorance, and is favoured by it, has infected a considerable portion of the body. They want exceedingly an enlightened ministry, and they were beginning to awake to this necessity. They want also a sound exhibition of the whole truth, lest, in relaxing from antinomian opinion, where it has prevailed, they should fall back into the opposite extreme. Mainly this body is sound; and has continued sound, while others have been corrupted; but it has never passed the ordeal of state patronage and endowment. It has contributed most honourably its share in overtaking the wants of an empire, which has been advancing with a giant's pace and power.

The Methodists are quite as numerous, and are more efficient. They show a less amount of ministers, but a much larger one of communicants: the one being 2,223, and the other 619,771. Like the Baptists, they have a large proportion of slaves in their communion; and, like them, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country, both in their virtues and failings. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible. They depend here, as every where, rather on their method than the talent of their ministry, or the peculiarities of their faith;

and this method has wonderful compactness and adaptation to its ends. They are a hive of bees, in which each one has his place, and each one his work to do; and where each, by the movement of all, is constrained to fulfil it; and thus the whole duty of the busy and happy community is completed. The perfect order and unity which reigns at home, prevents the loss of energy by domestic bickerings; and allows them to seek and cull their treasures from the wild and waste world around them. Whatever may have been their failings, they have done more, both in America and Canada, than any other body of Christians, to carry the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions, and have been most successful in their efforts of christian philanthropy.

The Episcopal church is by far the least of the five leading denominations. It numbers 650 ministers; its attendants are 244,125; and its communicants are considerably lower, I believe, than is usual in the other divisions of the church. Its forms are those of the Church of England, with trifling variations; but it has undergone essential alterations in the principles of its government. The people have a voice in the appointment of their pastors; and the bishops are elected in a convention of the pastors and lay delegates. They are, therefore, mostly men of approved character, and of much pastoral experience. Some are known to you as persons of exemplary piety.

The Episcopal church, like the Congregational, has been tried here as an establishment, and like it, it has failed. It was established in Virginia; and it became slothful and impure under its exclusive privileges, so as to have made itself despised by the people. It was years, after a change was made, before they could overcome the recollections of the past, and once more indulge their old aristocratic tastes. The church has now revived on the voluntary principle, and is blessed with a pious clergy and a thriving community. I shall recur to this, if I have time, hereafter.

This church, like its prototype, is divided within itself, into two parts. They are here denominated the Low Church and the High Church. To be favourable to evangelical truth and liberal principles is to be Low Church; and to oppose these is to be High Church. This difference seems to have come amongst them, from their disposition to sympathize with the mother church so entirely, as that they must reflect all her features, whether they are in or out of a fair and lovely proportion.

The High Church, of course, is very high. It has little communion with the other branch of itself, except under the pressure of circumstances; and it has less communion with others. It stands on its forms and prescriptions; and, not making spiritual regeneration a term and test of christian character, it has considerable accessions from the worldly and fashionable. The cherished recollections of the mother country, too, as well as the recoil which many have from the plain, and sometimes indiscreet, dealing to which they may have been exposed elsewhere, contribute to the number of her followers.

The Low Church is in the situation of a suspected party, and though they have every reason to sympathize with those who hold evangelical opinions, are often slow to do so. There are, however, many who brave the hazard, and seek the fellowship. They are a considerable proportion of the entire body, and are so increasing as to carry a beneficial influence over the whole. That branch which is located in New York is, by endowment and the sale of improved lands, rich; and its funds are laudably employed in aiding the juvenile efforts of congregations, contending with the first difficulties of life and action. This portion of the clergy, with which I had the best means of becoming acquainted, appear to be intelligent, pains-taking, and devoted; some of them I have reason to regard with high esteem and admiration. As a minority, they are similarly circumstanced with those of their class here; and professionally their character and points of excellence have strong resemblance. They are form-

ed on the school of Scott; the other portion of the body is formed on that of Tillotson and Blair.

Whatever may be the spirit of liberality which breathes in many of the presbyters and bishops of this church, the spirit of the ecclesiastical system is still exclusive and anti-Protestant. Placed in temporal and civil advantages on a level with every other religious body, it stands on the ground of the Divine right of episcopal ordination and apostolic succession. Now, it is certainly somewhat bold in the parent church to denounce some eight thousand ministers, at least equal to her own in pastoral ability and success, as in "*pretended* holy orders," that is, in a surreptitious use of the ministry; yet there is something of pomp, and privilege, and numbers to uphold these pretensions. But really for such lofty pretentions to be insisted on by a church so situated as is that in America, and at this time of day, is painfully ridiculous. What! of the twelve thousand ministers who have laboured for the regeneration of their country, and with eminent success, are the six hundred who have had the hand of the bishop on them, only to be deemed the true ministers of Christ? Are the ten thousand men who have been employed mainly in settling and sustaining the church in that land, to be denounced by an insignificant section of that church as falsely pretending to a character to which they have no lawful claim? Is there nothing in "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" nothing in the calling and approving testimony of a "congregation of faithful men;" nothing in the undoubted testimony of Heaven itself? Must these holy and useful men, who, above all things have sought the will of God; who have thought that they were acting under it; who would have trembled to commit themselves to such a ministry uncalled; and who have the seal of heaven on their labours, in the renewal of thousands and myriads of men; be told that they have run unsent, have held their offices surreptitiously, and are worthy, not of praise, but condemnation? And by whom?

The only way in which this may be truly lamented, is as it affects that portion of the church which incorporates in its system such assumptions. It wars against the spirit of union, and interferes greatly with its efficiency and success. It prevents the exchange and intercommunity of services; it is hostile to fraternal charity, since brethren can hardly associate with pleasure except on equal ground; and it places, by its exclusiveness, the Episcopal portion of the church at disadvantage, in all the great and general movements of the times. Surely the intelligent and holy and liberal should look to this. Let them prefer Episcopal ordination if they will; but let them not condemn and unchurch those who think they have found a more excellent way. There must be something wrong in this. Dying men have often strong and vivid impressions of the right. Legh Richmond, in his last illness, said to a friend and pastor of a dissenting church, "I esteem you as a minister of Christ, and you regard me as such, and yet I cannot preach for you, and you cannot preach for me. My brother, there must be something wrong in this!"

You will have observed, that the terms, church, clergy, and bishop, though limited with us to one community, are used promiscuously in the churches of America. The Presbyterian church gives officially the style of bishops to her pastors; all ordained ministers are the clergy. Frequently you see a noble edifice, with its tall tower and spire, and from the power of association, you are ready to pronounce it Episcopal. No, it is a Baptist church. And though, in New England, there is some partiality to the old designation of meeting-house, the said meeting-house has all the large and lofty attributes of the church.

I was much interested in what I saw of the Dutch Reformed Church here; the more so, perhaps, as I brought with me my recollections of Holland. Alas! for that ancient stronghold of truth, godliness, and Protestantism. This church has 197 churches, and 165 pastors; they are well trained, orthodox, and godly men. I had

much pleasure in making the acquaintance of those who are settled in New York. Their congregations are of good size, and composed of persons of sincere piety and much steadiness of character; a steadiness, perhaps, a little inclining to immobility and formal profession. They have only to commit themselves to the great religious efforts of the day, in co-operation with their brethren, to retain an honourable place amongst "the living in Jerusalem." Should the movement put them a little in contact with some things they may deem extravagant, they need not fear them, their temptation is not that way; and their presence will contribute to allay all real evil.

They are, I believe, wealthy; and have resources in their people. There are two services, especially, which they may render to the churches, and which they should consider intrusted to them by Divine Providence. The German settlers in Pennsylvania require to be resuscitated, by decided missionary exertions. The sympathy which the Germans would have with their church, and the authority they would have over them, seems to mark this as a field of most important labour, for which they are remarkably prepared, and which labour would be eminently blessed. Delegations of the wisest and most pious of their body, to the father land, might contribute most happily to revive the churches in Holland, in their cold and torpid state, and restore them to a true belief in their own faith, and a true practice of their own professions.

Much has been said on the influence and spread of Romanism in this country; and, at the time of our visit, great alarm was entertained on the subject. I must supply you with the means of judgment.

It should really seem that the Pope, in the fear of expulsion from Europe, is anxious to find a reversion in this new world. The crowned heads of the continent, having the same enmity to free political institutions, which his Holiness has to free religious institutions, willingly unite in the attempt to enthral this people. They have heard of the necessities of the West; they

have the foresight to see that the West will become the heart of the country, and ultimately determine the character of the whole; and they have resolved to establish themselves there. Large, yea, princely grants have been made from the Leopold Society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favour of this portion of the empire that is to be. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries. Every thing is done to captivate, and to liberalize, in appearance, a system essentially despotic. The sagacity of the effort is discovered, in avoiding to attack and shock the prejudices of the adult, that they may direct the education of the young. They look to the future; and they really have great advantages in doing so. They send out teachers excellently qualified; superior, certainly, to the run of native teachers. Some value the European modes of education, as the more excellent; others value them as the mark of fashion: the demand for instruction, too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children. This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy; but the actual alarm has arisen from the disclosure of a correspondence which avows designs on the West, beyond what I have here set down. It is a curious affair, and is one other evidence, if evidence were needed, that Popery and Jesuitism are one.

There is, however, no possible cause for alarm, though there undoubtedly is for diligence. Romanism has increased positively, but not relatively. It has not advanced in proportion to the other denominations, nor in proportion to the population. Baltimore, the stronghold of Popery, was once almost wholly Catholic; it is now greatly outnumbered by Protestant sects. The Romanists do not number, as attendants, more than 550,000 persons; and the influx of Catholics from Germany and Ireland may answer for that amount. Of course, every liberal and christian mind would desire, that those of

that faith, settling in these states, should be provided with the means of worship in agreement with their conscientious opinions; and had this been the intention of the efforts, they had been only laudable.

Nothing can be stronger evidence against the success of Romanism, than its actual position associated with the extraneous assistance afforded to it. With hundreds of thousands of dollars to back it, it has fallen short in the race with the other denominations; while they have wanted the unity of action which sustained it, and were thrown entirely on their native inward resources. Popery cannot flourish in this land, except every thing proper to it should first die out,—liberty, conscience, independence, and prejudice. It is not indigenous—it is an exotic; and though fostered by fond hands, and protected by strong ones, it will languish, fade, and fall. It is a monstrous expectation; despondency alone could have suggested it. But the Pope must hope for no second life in this new world. It may be true, that he is immutable; happily he is not immortal.

Yet the occasion calls for diligence, and a diligence directed with sagacity as to means and distant results, equal to that of the adversary. If all were to sleep, while the enemy sowed his tares, there might indeed be a most rueful harvest. But here again the Romanists have made a bad choice. These people are the most wakeful of any known. They will certainly, when they see the evil, do their duty; the only fear is lest they should give the adversary some advantage, by overdoing it. Let them feel that they have to deal with a cautious foe, and treat him cautiously. They must not be content with a manful onset, such as they have lately made, and expect to demolish at a blow. Let them remember that they have to do with a foe, who rests his cause on time and perseverance; whose hand seeks to undermine rather than to storm; who can smile at a defeat if it puts his opponent off his guard; and who, like the tiger-cat, can spring on his prey, when he seems to be moving away. It is manifest that success is to be expected against such

a foe, not by an occasional triumph, but by a careful observation of his devices, and a calm indomitable steadiness in resisting them.

You will, perhaps, be disappointed if I dismiss this subject without a reference to the state of Infidelity in this country. You are ready to think it assumes a more determined and evil aspect than with us. But let me ask, can any thing be worse than our Fleet-street exhibitions and tracts? I will admit, however, that, though not worse, there is a more general expression of it where it really exists. The people here are altogether under less restraint; and you get the honest opinion quickly. If people profess religion, they do it sincerely, and you know it at once, and without shame or reserve; and, for the same reason, if they reject religion, you are advised of it promptly, and without fear.

But infidelity is not advancing here; it has diminished, and is diminishing. Still, you must understand that it did prevail to an alarming extent. The Revolution brought infidel France into close connexion with the people, and the people into a state of strong sympathy with France. Much evil arose, from this cause, to religion; and the leading men of the day were seduced, by the sophisms of Voltaire, Rousseau, and d'Alembert. The Revolution itself, unsettling men's minds, filling them with the care of the present, and making an attention to the means of religion almost impossible, contributed most extensively to the same issue. The settlement of the war was followed by an unexampled course of prosperity to America. England was committed to renewed and desperate conflict, while the carrying trade of the world was slipped into the hands of the States. This super-induced an extravagance of hope, and worldly desire, as fatal, perhaps, as either of the previous causes, to the interests of true and spiritual religion.

However, that dark and evil day is past. The infidelity of the period which had desolated France, and which threatened, like a wasting flood, to destroy every thing

precious in this land and ours, has subsided. Infidelity still exists, and its blasphemous nature is not changed; but it is diminished and crest-fallen. Its stronghold is thought to be in New York; but what is found here of infidelity bears about the same proportion to New York, as Carlile's shop and the Rotunda do to London. I should think, decidedly, that there is not more open, and certainly less covert, infidelity in this country than in ours. There would be a greater appearance of this evil in the West, but there would be less in the East; and the average, I believe, is by no means greater.

The great sensible benefit to all these denominations is, that they are alike unknown to the government. They may have, as we have seen, differences within themselves, and unworthy jealousies of each other, but these differences are not imbittered by political strife. None are liable, on following out the convictions of their conscience towards God, to be thought less loyal to the government than others. None are exalted, and therefore none are abased; none have exclusive privileges, and, therefore, none can complain. The government troubles none, and they bring no trouble to the government. None by patronage are made haughty; and none are made uneasy. All agree to ask no favour, no grant, no tax; and all must be satisfied, while none is given. The government, in this particular, have understood their interests, and keep their engagements most nobly; and, by this means, they have made their yoke light and pleasant; they have taken from their duties half their difficulty, and more than half their responsibility.

In this single view of the case, it must be admitted, that there is great advantage; it remains for us to see whether the interests of religion really suffer by this non-interference.

LETTER XXXV.

My dear Friend,

I have now to speak of the Religious Economy of the churches. We have noticed the leading differences between the Episcopal church here and in the mother land, already. The agreement between the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, in the two countries, is so complete as to make discrimination needless. My allusions will, therefore, mostly be to the Congregational churches, when points of discipline are spoken of; while the statements on property and support will apply to all.

The remarks will relate to what is *spiritual*, or to what is *temporal;* and my design is not to report a system; but to illustrate the subjects on which there is a difference, leaving those on which we have entire or essential agreement in silence.

I have, I believe, already described the usual order of public worship; it is, in the four principal denominations, most pleasantly like our own. I have, nevertheless, something to observe on its manner. The singing, generally, and universally with the Congregationalists, is not congregational. It is a performance entrusted to a band of singers, more or less skilful; and, as such may sometimes afford one pleasure, but as an act of worship, it disappoints you greatly; at least, if you have been accustomed to the more excellent way. You have the sense of being a spectator and auditor; not of a participant; and this is destructive of the spirit of devotion. With its best execution, it is not half so fine as the concurrent voices of a thousand persons, pouring forth their grateful sentiments in holy psalmody; and, in its lowest estate, it is poor and chilling indeed. A good sermon is often made or marred by the hymn. I fear many a one has been sadly marred by it in New England.

I recollect, on one occasion, before sermon, that beautiful hymn of Watt's, "Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove," &c. was sung. There were some seven hundred people present; but the hymn rested with six or seven persons in the gallery. The last line of each stanza was left to the female voices. At the line, "And our devotions die," to give the dying notes the more effect, it was left to one voice. The young woman kept her breath and diminished her tones as long as she could, and then turned round on her companions and smiled.

On another occasion, which was a special meeting of prayer and exhortation for the conversion of the world, I inquired of my brethren, uniting with me in the service, whether we could not close with the fine doxology, "From all that dwell below the skies," &c. and the Old Hundredth tune? "Most certainly," was the cheerful reply. It appeared, however, that there was another party to be consulted. Our wish was conveyed to the singers; and the singers sent their respects, saying, that they could not sing it, as they were prepared with another piece. The consequence was, that a solemn service was closed, and sadly cooled down, by a performance in which none could join, in which none were meant to join, and in which none cared to join.

Much laudable attention is now paid to the psalmody of the churches; and one may hope that it will lead to a preference of congregational singing, as finer in taste, and as essential to an expression of common worship. To be so, it must cease to be professional; for the professors will seek to exclude the people. It must be steadily considered as an act of worship, in which all should unite; and the maxim must be—That display is not worship. I am persuaded the Congregational body suffers much, in comparison with others, from the want of this. Their music, when well executed, may be attractive, but it is not edifying: it may suit heterodoxy, and help it; but it is not a suitable medium for warm affections and universal praise. It is also a strange departure from the practices of their fathers. The Puri-

tans and Presbyterians are renowned for a common delight in this exercise of worship; and many a hill-side rung with the solemn melody of their united praise.

Another evil that needs correction, and that, I think, is in course of correction, is, the reading of sermons. This practice obtains considerably in other denominations; it is universal, or nearly so, in the Congregational. It is thought, I believe, that the people have a prejudice in favour of it; but I have, from my own experience, no reason to think so. Meantime, it is undoubtedly prejudicial to the interests of the people, and also of the pastors. It is no argument for this method, that good has been done by it, and that some few may give to it great efficiency. It must rest on its general merits; and, tried on this principle, no one can hesitate in saying, whether, other things being equal, the read speech or the spoken speech is the most interesting and impressive. They feel this in their revivals; for then it is mostly laid aside; and one may hope that the frequent recurrence of the more interesting seasons will superinduce on the rising ministry habits of more spontaneous utterance.

If there is a feeling any where in its favour, it arises from the impression that the read sermon will be marked with more correctness and careful study. I have not been unobservant on this subject; and I do not think so. He who is always writing is not the best composer. The pastor, who tasks himself to write out at length not less than two sermons a week, must find nearly all his spare time occupied in a mere mechanical exercise. He can have no leisure to store his mind by good reading, or to digest his reading by sustained meditation. He cannot wait for his second thoughts; nor give his subject, however important, time to penetrate, and to make his mind and affections, for the period, part of itself. He has two sermons to write by Sabbath morning; if he does not make haste, he will not get them done. This influence, kept up, forms a habit of loose thinking and common-place utterance. The pastor finds himself committed to a species of manual drudgery, to which there

is no end; and the mind wearies and sleeps upon it. What has been wearisome in the composition, is not likely to change its character in the delivery; and the preacher and the hearer slumber over it together.

This subject deserves further attention than I am authorized in bestowing on it in this connexion. None can so mistake these passing remarks, as to suppose that they are meant to justify indolence, or the want of careful and anxious preparation. I would have the pastor write less, that he may study more; that he may present to his people better thoughts, with richer utterance and with greater power.

The administration of the positive ordinances has, I believe, been adequately illustrated in the Narrative. Let me preserve your attention for some passing notice of the services of marriage and burial, as observed here. In burials, the custom has been to give public notice of the party deceased, and to invite the friends at large, who may desire to show a mark of respect, to attend. This invitation, from the inconveniences arising on the existing mode, has been made select in the larger towns. It is still, however, open to all in less populous places. I have seen nearly two hundred persons, half the adults of a little town, following the remains of a child to the grave. The house is thrown open; and those who cannot find admission, remain about the door till the movement begins, when they fall in silently and without trouble.

No service, I believe, is ever performed in the burial-ground. This takes place in the dwelling of the deceased. It consists of exhortation and prayer; and sometimes these exercises are renewed on the return of the mourners and friends from the ground.

Marriage is regarded by the Government only as a civil contract, while its admitted importance may claim for it some religious service. It is valid, however, without any religious act, if the parties wish to avoid it. The provisions of the different States are various. Generally, it is provided that the agent shall be the ordained minis-

ter, or the justice of peace. In the State of New York it requires no publicity; but the parties authorized to marry may do so on the instant. Usually public notification is considered expedient; and still the method varies. In some cases the pastor publishes it to the congregation; and he may marry the parties at any convenient time after this is done; but the prevailing practice requires that notice should be given by the minister to the parish clerk, who is a civil officer, and who is responsible for the publication. It may be made on the church, or court-house door, or otherwise. A fortnight after this notice, the minister is at liberty to marry. He is responsible for making a correct return to the clerk of the marriages he celebrates, quarterly or otherwise. The law provides a fee of not less than a dollar for the minister, and few content themselves with this small acknowledgment. This plan has been the most extensively used, and for the longest time; and, after very careful inquiry, I do not find that it is open to the least objection. Some of the States have thought that it asks for more safeguard than is needful; but none have thought it wanting in security. The legal profession allow that it works well.

So much for the civil portion of the subject. The religious exercises are simple and appropriate; and none but those who repudiate all religion, I believe, disregard them. The service is usually performed at the home of the contracting parties, and in the bosom of their families and immediate friends, and is, on this account, made much more interesting and less painful to all concerned. It is more frequently observed in the evening than at any other time of the day. The minister comes at an appointed hour; and the order of service rests with circumstances and his discretion. It consists of exhortation and prayer. Sometimes an address is given in explanation; then prayer is offered; then the consent of the parties is taken, and hands are joined; and, after this, short exhortation and prayer are renewed. At other times the exhortation is given; hands

are joined, and prayer is then offered. The minister chosen for the service is he who is best known and loved by the parties; and, performed under such circumstances, it is both affecting and solemn.

The mystic ring is no necessary part of the ceremony; and it is frequently not used. The consequence is, that the married lady cannot be distinguished by this sign. I believe in no country is the marriage vow held more sacred than in this.

The government of the churches will lead us to regard them in their separate, and their associated capacity. The principles which regulate the particular church, whether Baptist, Presbyterian, or Congregational, have a strong resemblance. The officers also are similar, although they have different names. In the Presbyterian, they are the pastor or bishop, the elders and the deacons. The elders being a council with the pastor; and the deacons being limited to the care of the poor, and the temporal affairs. In the Baptist, they are elder and deacon; the style of "elder" being given to the pastor here. In the Congregational body they are the pastor and deacons. In each case, the officers are chosen by the church, without any control, except that the minister must be recognized by the association. Every church has an absolute voice in the persons admitted to membership.

The affairs of the church are managed usually by a committee, to which they are officially intrusted. With the Presbyterians, the bishop and elders, under the name of the Session, are this committee; with the Congregationalists, the pastor and deacons compose it, if the church is small, but if large, some other members of the church are added to it. It is in these sessions that all preliminary business is prepared; and to it all difficult business referred. They see and examine candidates for fellowship, before they are propounded; and all matters of complaint and misconduct come under their notice. They are qualified to examine these, to act on them, and finally, to dispose of them; the party always having, if

he thinks himself aggrieved, the right of appeal to the church, and still from the church itself to the council or presbytery. The title to membership is, I think, universally sought in the evidence of regeneration. Only the male members are allowed to vote. At the admission of members, all rise on the reading of a portion of the covenant, to express their consent, but it is not considered as a formal vote on the part of the females. Baptism is mostly limited to the children which have one parent in fellowship; and, consequently, a great many grow up unbaptized, and the pastors here have many more adult baptisms than we have. This custom has certainly contributed to enlarge the number of the Baptist community.

The choice of the pastor is frequently spoken of as resting with the parish. The term parish, however, does not now describe, as with us, geographical limits; it denotes those persons who compose the congregation, and subscribe to the support of its institutions. In some cases, the parish, or congregation, is allowed a confirmatory voice on the election of the church; this is not deemed desirable, but it is not found to produce any serious evil. The fact of the church having agreed in its election, and of its being generally a majority, as compared with those who are merely subscribers, renders a reversed decision nearly impossible.

Although the appointment, discipline, and removal of the pastor, is understood to rest essentially with the church, it is the practice to make a reference to council on these subjects; and the voluntary deference is so great as to place it in act, though not in principle, on an exact footing with the Presbytery.

The Congregational churches disclaim the principle of independency; and they have, therefore, a relative as well as a personal discipline. This associated control is exercised either by council or synod; the council being meant to respect the limited, and the synod the general interests of the church.

The council may be called, by letters missive, by one

or more churches. The letters are addressed to the neighbouring churches, requesting them to sit in council by their pastor and lay delegates, as representatives. They may be called on questions of prudence or of conscience, and then they are wholly advisory. Or they may be summoned for the purpose of ordination, and then their functions are mostly administrative. Their duty is to examine, and approve, and so ordain; but as the church has previously expressed itself, and as all the arrangements for ordination are fixed and made public, if the council are disposed to demur, they are placed in circumstances of such restraint as to make it difficult to decline the service. And as the churches invited to send representatives to the council are selected by the church applying, or rather by the candidates for ordination, it does not in principle supply a better safeguard against undue intrusion into the ministry, than does the sanction given at our ordinations.

The council may be *mutual.* It is then summoned by the agreement of two parties, who consent to refer their difference or difficulty to it. The cases on which this council is called to sit in judgment, are mostly those of difference between a church and a private member, or between a church and its pastor. Its power is merely advisory, but it is final. It is considered in theory to represent the whole body of the church, and there is, therefore, no higher appeal.

The council may be *consociated* or *permanent.* This is not created, like those I have noticed, by circumstances; but has a continued existence. It is, therefore, considered to have all the attributes of a mutual council; and, besides these, it is invested with an authoritative power more congenial with the genius of Presbyterian than Congregational order. It is to take cognizance of all cases of scandal within its circuit, and afford its assistance on all ecclesiastical occasions; and those who decline to submit to its decisions, "they shall be reputed, after due patience, guilty of a scandalous contempt, and dealt with as the rule of God's word in such cases

doth provide, and the sentence of non-communion shall be declared against pastor and church."—*Saybrook Platform.*

The council may be *ex parte.* This can only exist where an aggrieved party desires a judgment, and the second party refuses to consent to a mutual council. The complainant has then the privilege of summoning a council from such churches as he chooses to examine his case. They give advice; they seek reconciliation; and if they attach no decided blame to the aggrieved party, and his church refuse to receive him, they commend him to another community.

The designation of this council is certainly somewhat forbidding. But it may unquestionably be a noble act of justice to justify an aggrieved party, before the church, when the offender declines to face him before an impartial tribunal, and he has no means of compelling him.

The council may be *general*, and then it falls under the denomination of a synod. In its elements it corresponds with the General Assembly; its powers are variously stated, and with some little contrariety. It is held to be advisory, and not authoritative; but it is "to debate and to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; to clear from the word holy directions for the worship of God and good government of the church." "The directions and determinations of the synod, so far as consonant with the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word."—*Cambridge Platform.*

It is quite evident from these statements, on the associated government of the churches, that there has been some danger of the Congregational body losing its distinctive character in the Presbyterian models; but the period either of fear or hope, as parties may respect it, has passed away. Nothing is more certain than that the Congregationalists are in practice becoming daily more jealous of every thing that is authoritative and ju-

dicial, while they are becoming more attached to those conferences and councils which are purely advisory.

Besides these arrangements which concern the government of the church, there are Pastoral Associations to promote its edification and union.

The Pastoral Association, or Convention, is usually composed of the ministers of the county. They assemble twice or oftener in the year, to promote, by prayer, preaching, and fraternal intercourse, their knowledge, zeal, and charity, and thus to qualify themselves to labour with greater advantage for the welfare of their churches. As might be expected, great good has arisen from these meetings; many of the best revivals have sprung from them. The State Association is the same species of meeting, and for the same purposes, on a larger scale. The Occasional Conferences are partly lay and partly clerical; and their design is to knit together the several members of the body, and to advance the great interests of religion in the land and in the world.

LETTER XXXVI.

My dear Friend,

Let me now proceed to remark on that portion of Religious Economy which may be denominated *temporal*. So far as it is needful to notice it, the subject may, perhaps, be comprised under the heads of *edifices—tenure of churches—means of general support.*

Of the churches, as edifices, I must say something, as they have been misreported. It has been said that they are smaller than ours; and that, therefore, the number of churches does not supply a comparative scale for the attendance. I have looked with some care at this statement; and so far as my best observations will carry me,

I am prepared to say, that the average of size and accommodation is larger with them than with us. I know not that they have any places so large as a few of ours; but they have many of the extreme size, if seeing and hearing are to be consulted in the dimensions; and we have certainly, both in the church and with the dissent, many more smaller ones than they.

An objection has also been taken to them, as erected of frail and perishable materials. If this objection is meant to be unlimited, it is not true. America has certainly no St. Paul's; nor any instance, known to me, of an exorbitant expenditure of 80,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* on the erection of a single church; but, in all her principal cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnatti, there is an abundance of churches, which, for good accommodation, substantial construction, and respectable appearance, are as good as I would wish to see, and will compare at advantage with the average amongst us. As to the material of which the churches are constructed, when I say, that the more durable takes the lead in them, as compared with the other erections, it is plain that the utmost is done that a reasonable mind can require. When all the erections of a young town in the midst of the forest are of timber, it would be absurd to expect other material for the church. So soon as brick begins to appear for domestic uses, it is sure to appear in the church; when stone supersedes brick, the first evidences of change are still to be seen in the church. In New York, the inhabitants are beginning to ornament their brick dwellings with marble steps, architraves, and pediments; but they are carrying up, at the same time, in solid and beautiful marble, both a church and a university.

Then, if this objection is to receive a limited application, it is true, and it is highly beneficial. In the small town and young settlements, the church is built of wood; and I have satisfied myself that this is a decided advantage. When a settlement is just made, its numbers are few, and the place of worship bears, of course, a proportion

to the numbers. If the original place were then built of stone, and not of timber, it would abide for ages, like many of our churches, with a capacity to accommodate some two hundred instead of some two thousand. But the first churches are erected of clapboard, frequently while the settlement is young; as paint is dearer than wood, it is not painted, and left to itself, it will perish in some twenty or thirty years. By this time every thing is changed in the little community; their numbers trebled; their means quadrupled; and they determine to build a more substantial place, with adequate accommodation; so that, in that new country, most of their original places have already been swept away by the besom of time, while ours remain to this day. And as objects of taste, and memorials of the past, one would have them remain for ever; but this is not now the question. It is a question of accommodation; and whether the accommodation respect comfort or space, the American places have the advantage.

I am now to refer you to the *tenure* of ecclesiastical property. You are to understand, that there are two bodies that are recognized by the law as holding, and claiming to hold, such property. They are, the church and the parish; and they are both *corporate* bodies. The church is precisely what it is with us. The parish denoted place as well as persons; it now, by the legal changes that have been effected, denotes persons rather than place. The persons in this relation, who are deemed the parish, are the subscribers; and the term, therefore, is nearly synonymous with our term congregation, as distinguished from church. The church has the right to choose the minister; but the parish have a veto on the choice. Commonly, the majority of the parish will be in membership with the church, so that there is little danger of conflict of opinion, except in gross mischoice. The fittings and property with the edifice are considered to belong to the church; but the edifice itself is held by the parish as a corporation. The law knows not a church in its religious, but in its civil capacity; and the evidence

of the existence of a civil corporation must, of course, be found in enrolment and subscriptions. Pewholders are deemed to have a separate right of property; and they can bring their action against the parish, if that property is injured. This provision is necessary, from the common practice of selling the pews as the means of meeting the first expenses of erection. What would be regarded as a fair sum is given for the purchase; and, afterwards, they bear a yearly rate, that is adequate to sustain the minister, and lesser charges.

The law has been very different, as you will suppose, at different periods; and now it varies in the several States.

I have endeavoured to express the spirit of the law; its form, under the modelling hand of time and circumstance, will not be less liberal, and will become more simple. It is certainly a great improvement in legislation on this subject. The high advantage consists in making the church, or congregation of subscribers, a body corporate. This gives them a legal being; allows them to sue, and be sued; and to uphold all their civil rights with facility. It is at once a great security in the tenure of fixed property, and a discharge from an immense standing expense, on the renewal of trusts or trust-deeds. While other interests are justly looked to, this ought not to be neglected in our own country. The present state of the law, as it affects all the Dissenting bodies, is such, as not only to expose the property to serious hazard, but as to incur a charge on them of from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* per annum, without benefit to any one.

The final head of temporal economy relates to the *means of support.* It has great importance in itself, and it is enhanced by the position of the church at the present time. At home, we are hardly allowed to refer to this subject, even in other connexions, without being overwhelmed with charges, which confound a good man, and make a calm and philosophical conclusion extremely difficult. However, I shall endeavour to treat the subject, without acrimony and without fear; and in the hope

that it may contribute to the formation of a just opinion, and, consequently, to the advancement of true religion, without respect to sect or party.

You are aware that our fathers, when they braved the Atlantic, and sought a settlement in the New World, did so for conscience' sake. But, although they fled from the face of persecution, and certainly would have recoiled from the act of direct persecution, nevertheless, they understood so little the nature of religious liberty, that they established a system which would, under a change of circumstances, inevitably assume a persecuting character. In fact, this ignorance of the imprescriptible claims of conscience was not their fault in particular, it was the common fault of all, and of the time. Immunity on the one hand, and restriction or persecution on the other, were the only forms in which religion appeared: and although the principles of liberty were to be developed by the searching hand of intolerance, it was not to be expected that they should be appreciated, adopted, and matured, without a considerable lapse of time and experiment. The efforts made, in these youthful settlements, in favour of prescription and endowment, and the counter efforts peacefully made in favour of perfect religious freedom, supply evidence, which is so interesting, that it cannot be neglected; and so strong, that prejudice itself cannot put it down.

While, in every case, the results have been the same, the methods of reaching them have been various. This makes it somewhat difficult to treat them, but it necessarily increases the power of the testimony.

In Virginia, the Episcopal church was established by law. The law was tried in both its forms; without the toleration, and afterwards with the toleration, of other sects. For nearly a century, it was the exclusive religion of the State; it was endowed, and all parties were compelled to contribute to its support. The consequence was any thing but what a good Episcopalian would desire. Unworthy and incompetent men, in search of respectability or emolument, made the church a prey.

Having nothing to apprehend from the people, or the rivalry of sects, they became careless, and indolent, and frequently dissolute. The statements on this subject abound, and are most painful. The pastors generally neglected the people, and the people despised and forsook the pastors; so that the system was dead, even while it retained the visible forms of existence.

It was then tried with toleration. This alteration admitted the other sects to enter the State; and without direct hinderance, to labour for the instruction and salvation of the people. The privileged clergy, however, despised their rivals: and as all sects were still taxed for their benefit, it concerned them little by what name they were called; and they continued to repose on their supplies, in indolence and security. If they slept, the oppressed sectaries did not sleep. Their efforts were not in vain: and these, with the reckless negligence of the endowed party, and the changes effected by the Revolution, prepared the State for an improved method.

It was felt that all could no longer be made to support one; and it was proposed that all should be assessed for the benefit of all the denominations. This, however, was declined; the Dissenting bodies protesting most nobly against any participation in the benefit of such a tax. Finding them firm in the rejection of all State allowance, an act was passed in 1775, to relieve them from all contributions towards the support of the established religion; and, eventually, the whole question was disposed of, and the whole country satisfied, by placing all denominations on one footing; by knowing them only as civil corporations, and withholding all allowance.

As quickly after this as the circumstances would allow, the Episcopal church revived, and placed itself on equal terms with its compeers. To this time it has continued to advance. It has now fifty-five clergymen devoted to their work, who are superintending affectionate and thriving flocks: and it is spreading itself on every hand, having good report amongst the people.

That we may change the field of observation, let us

pass into New England. Here, the church, or Standing Order, was founded on the principle of State interference. In Massachusetts, in 1631, the General Court passed a law that all should contribute in their parishes to uphold the Standing Order; and that none should be eligible for civil office, who were not in church membership. This was not only to make the people pay; but, having paid, it was to punish them by a Test Act, if they did not conform. This principle was afterwards modified, by allowing persons to divert their payment to some other body, on certifying that they belonged to it, still compelling them to pay to some religious society; and by the provisions of the Half-way Covenant. I think, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, I have shown how it affected the Congregational Order, by the corruption of doctrine; it may be proper to remark, that it extensively promoted the interests of sectarianism. Under the milder form of the compulsory payment, the worldly were obliged to pay equally with the religious; and as the worldly will always have the strongest objection to pure and undefiled religion, the chances are decidedly for error, and against truth. The worldly misbeliever, if compelled to pay either to Universalism or Calvinism, would prefer Universalism as a species of quietism; but if left to his choice to pay or not, he would say, "I will pay to neither, for I love my money better than both." Has the true church of Christ a right to compel such a man; and if it has, will any benefit accrue?

In Vermont and New Hampshire there were not only State enactments, but provisions of land in favour of the same and similar objects. Each township had an original grant of three hundred acres. This estate was to benefit equally four parties; the church—the school—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—and the *first* minister. The first minister was deemed a proprietor; and he could will his portion away to his family or friends. It was, in fact, a bonus to induce a person to encounter the first difficulty of settling; and it usually attracted the least worthy to the spot. The one fourth

originally meant for the permanent uses of the church, with its other privileges, remained, and the church languished in the midst of its indulgences. It is remarkable that "the desolations" of these districts, which a Scotch writer has magnified, to illustrate the inefficiency of the voluntary principle, are the very desolations which were created by the compulsory and State methods on which I am animadverting.

The changes which have taken place have been various and gradual, but they were all in favour of the voluntary principle; and in the year 1833, only two years since, the last fragments of the compulsory and endowed system were demolished by the power of improved opinion and religious principle. This was done in Connecticut about fifteen years since, and in Vermont and New Hampshire about the same time. It was in Massachusetts it lingered till 1833; and, by a striking coincidence with what is now happening in our own country, it was upheld to the last by Unitarianism. That you may be assisted to a correct opinion on this material subject, I will supply you, in the Appendix, with some extracts from the laws as they existed, were varied, and do now exist.

The voluntary principle, then, is the only one now for the support of these churches. It has been tried in some states to the exclusion of every other; it has been tried in other states, for different periods of time, where every other has failed; and what is the result? Deliberately, but without hesitation, I say, *the result is in every thing and every where most favourable to the voluntary, and against the compulsory principle.* Let us look at this, both as a matter of testimony, and as a matter of fact.

Testimony is universally in its favour. Let me not be mistaken. Some may carp at the term universal, and endeavour to muster some few voices in favour of the Standing order. Such voices are doubtless to be heard; but it is truly marvellous that they are so few. Of course, the transition so lately effected from one system

to the other, must have disturbed many interests, and have brought loss to some. It was to be expected that some, under the old system, would be incompetent; and these would naturally incline to an allowance from the state rather than from the people, who would be too wise to grant it. Some who had become gray and infirm under that system, might be supposed to cling to it, even though every advantage were with the change. Harvey showed his skill in metaphysics, as well as in physics, when he observed, that none of his profession above forty years of age received his theory, or were to be expected to receive it.

But, in truth, though every reasonable mind would be ready to make considerable allowances for the influence of such causes, it was never less necessary; and they are only referred to, to prevent captious and unfair objection. After having invited the most candid opinion on the subject; after having sincerely sought for the truth, whether favourable or unfavourable to the voluntary system; and, after having sought this in every quarter, and chiefly where state provisions had been enjoyed; I certainly did not find half a dozen men who would give their suffrages for the old method! The ministers, as a body, who might be supposed to have professionally strong preferences to a fixed and compulsory stipend, were united in their attachment to the voluntary principle. The brethren in Massachusetts, where the change had been so recently completed, rejoiced in it, and anticipated from it a decided advance in pure religion. Those of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, with whom we had an opportunity of meeting and conferring, were unanimous in the same judgment, and referred gratefully the renovated state of their churches and of the ministry to its benign influence. The brethren of Connecticut, whom we met in large numbers, decidedly concurred in the same opinion. The Episcopalian of Virginia, and the Congregationalist of New England, who had been indulged and protected to the utmost, were equally in favour of the new principle.

Men of every denomination, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Reformed, the Lutheran, the Churchman, and the Independent, all deprecate state interference and state allowance. Men of every region, the East, the West, the North, the South, and who are most deeply concerned for the interests of religion, agree in coming to the same conclusion. Indeed, such unanimity of opinion on a practical question, involving the interests of so many parties, and to be determined mostly by those whose habits and thoughts had been associated only with the old system, is what I never expected to find. It assured me of at least two things. 1. That the evil of this system must have been great, indeed, and visible to all. And, 2. That these devoted men had wisdom enough and piety enough at once to resolve, that what was injurious to religion could not be beneficial to them.

I know that a reference has been made, with confidence, to Dr. Dwight; and it has had my careful attention. I think you will judge it exceedingly confirmatory of the subject. In the first place, it is very little that Dr. Dwight asked: far less than would satisfy the thorough advocate of establishments. In the second instance, at the time when he formed his opinion, a great many ministers, of eminence and standing, were of the same mind. The first important changes were then contemplated; infidelity united with the tolerated religious bodies in demanding them; the conflict was strong, and frequently connected with demonstrations of irreligious violence. This class of excellent men became apprehensive; they had fear of change; and when they saw the ungodly conspicuous in the assault—the ungodly, who had been fostered under the old system—they could not commit themselves to the untried issue.

Dr. Dwight has not survived, to look back calmly on the consequences of the change, and to revise his opinions; but many of his contemporaries have. I have sought them out; I have communed with them at large on the subject. In every instance, they have acknowledged

that they were wrong; that their fears were groundless; that the transition has brought with it only good, and good in a degree for which they could not have hoped. This class of testimony may surely be graduated with that obtained from reluctant witnesses; and I will leave you to judge, from the weight it always receives in a court of justice, with what power it bears on the question.

Then, *Fact* is unanimously in its favour. This submits a wide field to us, and the difficulty is, still to condense observation. Let me dispose, first, of New England. It has undergone a most felicitous improvement since the alterations. I need not, I presume, enter into detail on this particular; for none will arise to contradict the assertion. The Standing Order could not have stood its ground as a State establishment. It was inert and inefficient; the Dissenting community on the one hand, and infidelity on the other, were prevailing against it; while, within itself, was engendered the worst forms of heresy. It is now placed on a level with its rivals, and it is equal to the best in the race of excellence. Every form of orthodoxy has made a surprising start, and is sustaining it as it was begun. The ministry has been supplied with better men; the men have been better maintained. Churches have been revived where they languished, and they have been created in abundance where they did not exist. The "desolations" of New England, which have been triumphantly cited from reports many years old, are rapidly disappearing under the voluntary principle, and never were the prospects on the future, for that favoured land, so bright and hopeful as they are at the present time.

Although one writer has ventured to talk of the religious "desolations" of New England, general conviction is so completely against him, as to make it useless to burden your attention on this subject. The slightest reference to the Statistical Tables will settle the question. But while it is commonly conceded that the New England States are better supplied with the means of re-

ligious worship than any other country in the world, the admission is not unfrequently made at the expense of the other States, and of the voluntary principles. Mr. Dawson, for instance, in a recent address to the electors of Plymouth, conceded, that these States were excellently supplied with religious means; and he then proceeded to maintain, that these means had grown up on the principle of State establishment, and that the other and newer States, which had discarded this principle and relied on its opposite, are, indeed, in the very state of desolation predicated. If this is correct, it is fatal to the new method; but let us look at it dispassionately.

I think I have already shown, with some clearness, *how much of her prosperity* New England owes to the principle of a Standing Order; I must now bring the means possessed by other States into comparison with those she is admitted to enjoy. Massachusetts, then, the principal State of New England, and the longest settled, has—

Population	610,014	Churches	600
Ministers	704	Communicants	73,264

New York, which is the principal middle State, and which has advanced with more rapidity than any of the other States, and which, therefore, has had the greater difficulty in meeting the spiritual wants of the people, has—

Population	1,913,508	Churches	1,800
Ministers	1,750	Communicants	184,583

Is this a sign of desolation?

Pennsylvania, the next middle state of consideration, has—

Population	1,347,672	Churches	1,829
Ministers	1,133	Communicants	180,205

Is this a sign of desolation? If it is, what are we to say of the most favoured divisions of our own country? Scotland is universally thought to be highly privileged in her religious means; but Scotland stands thus—

Population	2,365,807	Churches	1,804
Ministers	1,765	Communicants	(uncertain)

But it will be objected that these States are not either of the West or South, and are, therefore, not to be accepted in evidence on the wants of the more distant regions. I admit this; but, with this admission, I maintain that it is unjust to make the condition of the young States in the West, or the Slave States in the South, which are just colonizing, the test of the voluntary principle, as compared with New England; as unjust as it would be to try the compulsory principle in Great Britain, not by what it had wrought there, but by what it had done in Jamaica and in the Canadas. Having, in mere justice, protested against this mode of trial, I am not, on that account, unwilling to make the comparison.

Tennessee has—

Population	684,000	Churches	630
Ministers	458	Communicants	60,000

Ohio, a Western State, which, in 1810, had only a population of 230,000, and forty years since, not more than five hundred persons settled, has now a population of 937,000, scattered over a surface of 40,000 square miles, nearly the size of England and Wales. With these disadvantages, the account stands thus—

Population	937,000	Churches	802
Ministers	841	Communicants	76,460

Indiana, which is further West, and is settling at this very time, has, while struggling with the first difficulties of the forest, found leisure and means to provide itself as follows:—

Population	341,000	Churches	410
Ministers	340	Communicants	34,826

Is this, then, the desolation of the West? If so, what a moral desolation must Scotland be? In truth, are not these figures, in union with such circumstances, most astonishing? I confess to you, that I have looked at them once and again; and when I have assured myself that there is no cause to doubt their correctness, it still appears next to impossible for a people, settling in this new land, without aid from Government, and spread

over so large a surface, to have achieved so great a work for their spiritual welfare.

I have travelled over a large portion of the West, and I can readily account for the impressions which have been received by strangers in those regions. The eye is disappointed at not seeing, amidst every little cluster of log cabins, the spire or tower of the village church; the people who do not profess religion, are not careful to save appearances, and you quickly see them as they are; the ministry, as a distinct order, is far less apparent than int he East, for those who minister among the Methodists and Baptists are mostly without regular training. But it is evident, that he who is not prepared to revise and correct his impressions, under such circumstances, is not qualified to report concerning them. The ministers here are in advance of the people; they will still keep in advance of them; and it would be the desire of ambition, not of wisdom, that would place them so far in advance as to be out of reach, and out of sight. The little churches also in the scattered districts bear the same relation to the state of the people. They are frequently log cabins, and have no outward sign to designate their use; but as the log cabin yields to better accommodations in domestic life, so surely does the church receive an improved and visible form. In fact, the West is not New England. There are fewer means; they are of a lower character; and the people who do not profess are less under the influence of wholesome restraint and decorum. How can it be otherwise? There is, undoubtedly, much to be done for it. But, meantime, you will know how to judge of the reports made on its waste places, by remembering that, if its present means are fewer than those of New England, they are decidedly more than those of Scotland.

If we turn from the particular and comparative views, with which I have thus supplied you, to those which are more general, the American Institutions suffer nothing. The severest trial that can by possibility be made on this subject, is to take the ten States, on which we have any

safe returns, which have been *last added* to the Commonwealth. These are, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, and Florida. These will give a return of persons spread over a surface of 480,670 square miles, about nine times the size of England and Wales, as follows:—

Population	3,641,000	Churches	3,701
Ministers	2,690	Communicants	286,560

Need I say, how greatly this again exceeds Scotland!

If we take the principal towns of that country, and put them into comparison with those of ours, the advantage is entirely with them. For instance, Liverpool has—

Population	210,000	Churches	57
Ministers	57	Communicants	18,000

but New York, which is its counterpart, has—

Population	220,000	Churches	132
Ministers	142	Communicants	31,337

Edinburgh has—

Population	150,000	Churches	65
Ministers	70	Communicants	(uncertain)

but Philadelphia has—

Population	200,000	Churches	82
Ministers	137	Communicants	(uncertain)

Glasgow has—

Population	220,000	Churches	74
Ministers	76	Communicants	(uncertain)

but Boston has—

Population	60,000	Churches	55
Ministers	57	Communicants	(uncertain)

Nottingham has—

Population	50,000	Churches	23
Ministers	23	Communicants	4,864

but Cincinnati, a city only forty years old, and in the forests, has—

Population	30,000	Churches	21
Ministers	22	Communicants	8,535

After the statements already made, there can be no diffi-

culty in concluding, that the general supply of the whole country, is in comparison with any other country, astonishingly great. The figures would stand thus—

Population	13,000,000	Churches	12,580
Ministers	11,450	Communicants	1,550,890

This yields about one clergyman and one church to every thousand persons; while it gives about one in nine of the whole population, as in a state of communion; and as the returns do not include the communicants connected with the Episcopal, the Catholic, and some smaller sects, it is certainly not taken too high. Of England, if it is allowed that there are seven thousand working clergy in the Episcopal church, and five or six thousand clergy united to other divisions of the church, the amount of ministers will bear about the same proportion to the population as in America. But if this ministry is to be submitted to the two indispensable tests of its efficiency on the people, church accommodation and church communicants, it will fail most lamentably. The Bishop of London, in his evidence on this subject, states, that certainly *not one tenth* of the people are supplied with church-room in the places of his diocese. I conclude, that no diocese can exceed that of London, and take the whole therefore at one tenth. If it is conceded, that the Dissenters supply as much as the Episcopal church, I suppose this is the utmost that may be asked. This, then, would supply both by the voluntary and compulsory system only an accommodation for *one fifth of the people*.

Then look at the state of communion, which is, after all, the real test of strength and influence. It is shown by documents, which will not be disputed, that the Episcopal church, though hers is a *free* communion, has only 350,000 communicants. I think the communicants of the Dissenting bodies may be safely put down at 700,000; and I do not expect more will be allowed to them. This, however, will only give us 1,050,000; while America, at a low estimate, and with a universally *strict* communion, has 1,550,890; an increase on ours of more than one third!

All these results are most striking; and, in truth, if they are admitted, they are overwhelming in evidence. On this account, the Statistical Returns have recently been put into dispute, and have been taxed with the grossest exaggerations. That some exaggerated statements have been hastily made, I am ready to allow, for I have seen such. But I have given much attention to the approved documentary evidence, and have sought, in several cases, to verify or shake it; and the result is, that I am fully persuaded it deserves confidence. Great pains have, indeed, been taken with this class of evidence. All the denominations have more association and more system than are common with us. They make their yearly returns in their respective associations where they are known, and where serious error would be corrected. These are made again to conventions, or central bodies. General almanacks are prepared for public use, into which these statistics are introduced, and are subject to revision and amendment. One gentleman, with excellent capacities for the subject, and of unquestioned integrity, has devoted himself entirely to these important inquiries. All the annual and local returns have been searched and sifted by him; and they have appeared, in the amended form, in the *Quarterly Register*, a work which, for its research and fidelity, has acquired high repute in all the denominations; and it is the interest of each body to see, that no other body is allowed, at its expense, to pass with exaggerated numbers. I say not that these returns, after all the pains taken, are perfect; but I fearlessly say, that they are both honest and admirable. Certainly we have to this day no returns, dissenting or episcopal, ecclesiastical or civil, that can in any way be compared with them. With us, it is still a desideratum, which, I trust, some one will at length supply.

On the whole, then, the conclusion is, that whatever trivial errors may cleave to a subject which does not admit of perfect exactness, the general results remain indisputable. And with such results before us, shall we still, with blindness and prejudice, refuse the lessons

they imperatively convey? While such evidence is developing itself in favour of the voluntary principle, where alone it has found an open and fair field of probation, should not the Dissenter be confirmed in his assurance of its power and efficiency; and be disposed to rest his cause on it with confidence and quiet? And should not the pious Churchman, who regards an establishment only as it promotes the interests of religion amongst the people, be inclined, whatever may have been his original disinclination, to weigh such testimony with calm and dispassionate attention? At least, he should know, that he need not be withheld from the subject by apprehension and alarm. The Dissenter concerns not himself in the temporal estate of the church, except as it may affect his equality as a citizen, and as he devoutly desires that the Episcopal portion of the church may arrive at a condition most favourable to her honour, stability, and usefulness. Spoliation, not only is not, it never can be his object; for he can never profit by the spoil. Even the paltry grant, passing under the name of the Regium Donum, his principles, fairly carried out, compel him to decline. Whatever emoluments may be granted by the State to others, and whatever his opinion of them, he deems himself richer than they in having none; for the church and the world are to be renovated, not by patronage, but by principles. At all events, if the infirmities of our common nature should allow no more in the present period of excitement, this improved conviction might take from our discussions most of their bitterness while they continue, and conduct us the more quickly to peace when they terminate. How apposite and beautiful, at such a time, is the prayer of the excellent Venn, of Huddersfield:—"O, Prince of Peace, heal our divisions! Diffuse thy patient loving Spirit! Give discernment to distinguish aright between what is essential and what is not, and (meekness) to bear with each other's differences, till the perfect day discovers all things in their true proportions."

LETTER XXXVII.

My dear Friend,

Although I have dwelt on the last subject at considerable length, I hope it has not been to weariness. I have now to solicit your attention to a kindred topic—the *Religious Societies.* My design is, not to present you with an almanack under this head; but merely to glance at the leading voluntary associations for religious purposes; and to connect, with a brief statement, such remarks as may appear to be opportune and important.

The *Bible Society* was not instituted till the year 1816. Its receipts, in the first year, were 19,218 dollars; but it met with such general sympathy, that it made rapid advances on that amount. The last year, its income was 88,600 dollars; making an increase on the previous year of 3,665 dollars. The amount of Testaments and Bibles printed during the year, is 149,375 copies; and since the formation it has issued 1,644,500 copies.

Its first attention was directed to the domestic claims. In May, 1829, the resolution following was unanimously adopted:—"That this society, with a humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavour to supply all the destitute families of the United States, with the Holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years, provided means be furnished by its auxiliaries and benevolent individuals, to enable the board of managers to carry this resolution into effect." This noble and patriotic resolution was carried out in the spirit which suggested it; and I have every reason to think, that so far as the nature of the pledge allowed, it has been redeemed. Certainly, the American people are the very people to deal with such a resolve.

One good purpose enacted, strengthens the mind to

bring forth another. When the demands of home were, for the time, answered, the Christians looked round for another world to conquer. A proposition was made in 1833, to do, in concert with other societies, for the whole world, what had been done for the States. Such a proposal evidently required to be looked at with greater caution, in all its bearings, before a society could pledge itself with propriety or honour. It stood over. The sense of the sister society here was sought. I was the instrument of conveying it, and offering the needful explanations. The proposal was modified, and submitted to the meeting in the following terms:—

"In view of the Divine promise as to the ultimate spread of the gospel over the earth; of the signal success of the Bible cause during the present century; and of the numerous translations of the Scriptures already made; of the establishment of able and faithful missionaries in almost every Pagan and Mohammedan country; and of the wide extent of commerce and international communication; it is the serious conviction of this Society, and is therefore

"Resolved, That were the friends of the Bible in christian countries to exercise that faith, to offer those fervent supplications, to make those efforts and sacrifices, which the present aspects of Providence and the word of God demand, but a short period need pass away before the families of all nations might be favoured with the light of revealed truth.

"Resolved, That in consonance with the sentiment expressed in the preceding resolution, this Society will steadily aim, and, under the blessing of God, employ its best endeavours, in concert with similar institutions, towards effecting the distribution of the Bible among all the accessible population of the globe, within the shortest practicable period.

"Resolved, That the zealous and united prosecution of this grand object be affectionately and earnestly recommended to all the Bible Societies and friends of the Bible in this country and foreign lands."

This proposition, thus qualified, was unanimously accepted. There can surely exist no objection to it. It is, indeed, the expression of what we all desire; but the *expression* is useful. It awakens the sentiment where it is dormant; it presents a recognized and sublime object before the eye; and it creates sympathy with every other society in every quarter of the world, from the instant conviction, that it is only by the union of all, that it can be accomplished. I trust the resolutions will be responded, as with an angel's voice, from the farther land.

The *American Board for Foreign Missions* was formed in the year 1810. It was first suggested at an association of ministers, by some young students, who were anxious to devote themselves to missionary labour. Its rapid growth is evidence sufficient, that it has laid firm hold on the convictions and affections of the churches. Its receipts, in the last year, are 145,844 dollars; being an increase on the former year, of 15,270 dollars. In the same period, forty-eight persons have been sent out; nineteen ordained missionaries; two physicians; two printers; other assistants, twenty-five; total, forty-eight. The present state of this prosperous society is as follows:—

Missionary Stations	56
Ordained Missionaries	85
Physicians, Printers, Teachers, and Assistants, male and female	181
Native Teachers and Assistants	56
Churches raised	39
Converts admitted	2,300

It is the intention of this Society to send out at least an equal number of missionaries this year. Its proceedings are reported in the *Missionary Herald*, a well-conducted periodical, now commanding a sale of about 15,000 copies. It should be observed that it embraces only the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations; and not more than 2 500 churches are at present contributors.

The Home Missionary Society is a remarkable instance of sudden advancement towards maturity. It was constituted in 1826. It commenced by some previous movement with 104 missionaries; in the first year this amount was increased to 169; in the second to 201; in the third to 304; in the fourth to 392; in the fifth to 463; in the sixth to 509; in the seventh to 606; and in the eighth and last to 676. The income has risen in proportion to this demand. The receipts during the last year were, 78,911 dollars, which is an advance on the former year of 10,284 dollars. It has contributed to revive the domestic societies connected with the Presbyterian and Reformed church bodies; so that there are now about one thousand missionaries employed by these societies in the United States and the Canadas; and about fifteen hundred churches supported or assisted through their instrumentality. Apart from these, are to be computed the efforts put forth by the Methodist, the Baptist, and other religious bodies, for the same object.

Undoubtedly, the astonishing success of this society is to be referred chiefly to the deep sense of its need on the minds of the people; but no small proportion of it must be ascribed to the confidence which has been inspired by its management. It was my privilege, frequently, to plead its cause; to become acquainted with its detail; and to witness, in the West, its labours; and I have certainly never met with an institution under more excellent government. And this is the more remarkable, when the brevity of its existence and the rapidity of its growth is borne in mind.

There was danger that its sudden advancement, and the crying claims made on it from the wilderness, might have betrayed it to hasty and unwise measures. On the contrary, while it moved with surprising energy, it has acted with equal prudence. It has started on the principle of employing *no one as a missionary who had not enjoyed a regular education for the ministry.* It has accepted no man for this service who would not have been deemed eligible to act as a christian pastor. It has

thus saved the ministry from degradation ; it has inspired confidence in the congregations needing help ; and by maintaining the character of the missionary in full equality with that of the pastor, it has secured his usefulness, and disposed the most respectable men to look to its service, as offering an inviting, as well as an important, field of exertion. From the want of some such principles of action, so simple, and yet so wise, what mischief has been done, where there was, doubtless, a sincere desire to do only good!

The Education Society has for its object the preparation of young men of talent and piety for the christian ministry, either for home or foreign service. It was formed in 1815; and although claiming priority of existence to the Home Mission Society, it has recently owed much of its success to the principle on which it has acted. They are admirably calculated to work in harmony, and to the highest issues.

This institution does not provide itself with the means of educating its beneficiaries ; it merely sees them placed in the existing colleges, and meets the expenses which are consequent. The applicant is required to produce, from his pastor and others who know him, certificates of his talents, piety, need of pecuniary aid, and preparation to enter on a collegiate course of study ; and if he is accepted, he is required also to enter into an engagement to refund the expenses of his education at a future time, should he be able, and should the society call on him so to do. The society have a discretional power to cancel the engagement under particular circumstances. This arrangement had been adopted subsequently to its formation, and is considered to work with advantage.

During the past year, 1834, it had—

113	Beneficiaries in	14	Theological Seminaries.
433	ditto.....	34	Colleges.
366	ditto.....	111	Academies and Schools.
912		159	

The applicants, in the same time, had been two hundred and eighty.

The receipts of the institution, in the last year, were 57,818 dollars, being an increase on the year 1833, of 11,000 dollars. The expenditure has been 56,363 dollars. The beneficiaries have refunded, in the same period, 1,947 dollars.

About six hundred of its beneficiaries have completed their course of education, and are now actively employed in the ministration of the word of life. Forty are missionaries in foreign parts; and between two and three hundred are employed wholly, or in part, by the Home Missionary Society. About twenty are engaged as editors of literary and religious publications; and the remainder are settled as pastors, or are looking to such settlement. One sixth of all the ordinations and installations in the past year, throughout the States, were under the patronage of this society. During the last eight years, eleven thousand dollars have been repaid; and about one hundred thousand dollars have been earned by teaching schools, manual labour, and other services.

Besides this society, there is the Presbyterian Education Society, which, in the last year, had 436 beneficiaries, and had received 19,277 dollars; so that these societies, which embrace only the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies, have not less than fourteen hundred young men in training for the Christian ministry!

The Tract Society requires to be named here, for the extent and importance of its operations. It was formed only in 1825; but it has on its lists 737 works, which it has published. Of the tracts, it has printed 36,303,250 copies; and of the volumes, 33,669,918 copies. The receipts on the past year were 66,485 dollars; and the whole amount had been disbursed. No less than 20,000 dollars had been applied to *foreign* distribution; and a resolution is adopted to use 30,000 dollars in the present year for the same purpose!

Apart from many smaller societies, that at Boston deserves notice, as it is the parent of the one I have reported, and as its principle of action is equally general and

comprehensive. It has upwards of 700 auxiliaries; its receipts, in 1832, were 12,606 dollars; and it issued 14,500,740 pages.

This society is conducted with much vigour, and equal prudence; its noble efforts in behalf of foreign objects deserve especial commendation.

The Sunday School Union is an important tributary in the great work of benevolence. It is catholic in its spirit, and is second to none in the ability and zeal with which it is conducted. This society was formed in 1824. Its committee is composed of religious men of different denominations; and no book is to be adopted until it has the sanction of each member. In the year 1832, the eighth of its existence, it had 790 auxiliaries; 9,187 schools were in connexion; having 542,420 scholars, and 80,913 teachers. As many as 26,913 teachers and scholars are reported to have become pious in the same period. The expenditure for that year was 117,703 dollars; for the last year it was 136,855.

The more vigorous efforts of this Society have been directed most wisely, to the Valley of the Mississippi. In 1830, it was resolved unanimously, "That, in reliance upon Divine aid, they would, within two years, endeavour to establish a Sunday school in every destitute place, where it is practicable, throughout the Valley of the Mississippi;" that is, over a country which is 1,200 miles wide, and 2,400 in length! If this great work is not perfected, much has been done, and much is doing. There are thirty-six agents wholly employed in this service; and during the past year, they established five hundred schools, and revived a thousand.

I must not omit in this notice *The Temperance Society.* It was instituted in 1826, and has wrought an astonishing renovation amongst this people. From the circumstance that ardent spirits were to be had at about a shilling a gallon, the temptation became exceedingly great. As the demand for them rose, extensive orchards were planted, and fruits and grain were grown for the purpose of extracting spirit; till at length it threatened

to become the beverage of the country. The serious attention of the benevolent was called to it. The subject was discussed and urged in all its importance on public notice. At last the principle of total abstinence from spirits as a drink, was adopted as the basis of the Society. It had, of course, to contend every where with unreigned appetite and pampered vice; but every where it fought to conquer.

In the short space of its existence, upwards of seven thousand Temperance Societies have been formed; embracing more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand members. More than three thousand distilleries have been stopped; and more than seven thousand persons who dealt in spirits have declined the trade. Upwards of one thousand vessels have abandoned their use; and, most marvellous of all! it is said that above ten thousand drunkards have been reclaimed from intoxication.

I really know of no one circumstance in the history of this people, or of any people, so exhilarating as this! It discovers that power of self-government, which is the leading element of all national greatness, in an unexampled degree.

It is my duty to convey my impressions with perfect candour; and I should therefore observe, that this Society, and its noble cause, are suffering at the present time from slight, and I trust temporary, re-action. The cause of Temperance has often been pleaded intemperately, and the intemperance of the mind, as well as of the body, has its appropriate punishment. Many have sought to extend the pledge to wines and other things; and have thus destroyed its simplicity and its power. Uniformly it is found that the use of wine is diminished where abstinence from the use of spirits obtains; had the advocates of the great cause remained inflexible to demanding one simple object, they would have won both; the fear is, in insisting on both, they may be denied all. No people know better than the Americans how to bear with manly and united energy on any por-

tentous evil of the day ; they have only one fault—they know not when to stop. However, they have, as a whole, acted above all praise ; they have laboured and prayed, prayed and laboured, and the plague is stayed, and the nation is saved.

These are the principal general Societies. The following table, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Wisner, comprises the remainder of the same class, and it will interest you. Besides these, of course, there are numerous *local* Societies. The amount raised annually will be an index to their relative power, and will, perhaps, make further statement unnecessary.

Receipts of Benevolent Societies in the United States, in the year ending May, 1834.

	Dollars. Cts.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	155,002 24
American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions	63,000 00
Western Foreign Mission Society, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	16,296 46
Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society	35,700 15
Protestant Episcopal Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society	26,007 97
American Home Missionary Society	78,911 24
Baptist Home Missionary Society	11,448 28
Board of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church (Domestic)	5,572 97
Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Domestic) estimated	40,000 00
American Education Society	57,122 20
Board of Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches	38,000 00
Northern Baptist Education Society	4,681 11
Board of Education of the Reformed Dutch Church	1,270 20
American Bible Society	88,600 82
American Sunday School Union	136,855 58
General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union	6,641 00
Baptist General Tract Society	6,126 97
American Tract Society	66,435 83
American Colonization Society	48,939 17
Prison Discipline Society	2,364 00
American Seaman's Friend Society	16,064 00
American Temperance Society	5,871 12
Total	$910,961 31

I am inclined to think, that when your eye runs over these brief statements, and when you remember, that scarcely any one of these Societies is more than twenty years old, and most of them less than ten, you will be filled with surprise and admiration. But let us seek to profit by what we admire. Is not this an additional

proof of the power and resources of the voluntary principle? Could so much have been done, in such a period of time, and amongst a people so circumstanced, by any other imaginable means?

Again, is it not presumptive evidence of the general good management of these Societies? I am fully aware that large sums of money may be raised, occasionally, where there is no proof of a wise and careful application; but a public institution will not have large accessions to its income, year after year, unless it gains increasingly on public confidence; and confidence does not usually rest long where it is misused. In fact, I may say, and say it advisedly, that the most popular of the Societies are excellently conducted. Were you to desire me to account for this, in one word, I should say—*they owe it to their agency.* The persons who are intrusted with the concerns of a great benevolent Society, rest under the deep conviction, that its claims and interests are paramount; and they resolve to commit the official superintendence to the highest and best hands. They look round in every direction for the best man, and it matters not where he is, or what he is doing, he is their man as far as purpose may go. They challenge him without hesitation; and they leave it with him to say whether he deems his present engagements to have superior demands upon him, to those proposed to him. The person so applied to, if sacrifices of pastoral attachment are to be made, is prepared to make them at the call of public duty; he has no feverish anxiety about his means; he does not seek more, he does not expect less; for these Societies are economical in things, and not in men, and that is true economy; and he is embarrassed by no fear that he shall suffer in the estimation of his brethren by compliance, for the best and the wisest will be his consociates. Hence it is, that you commonly find the very first men in the church, at the head of these Institutions. The particular churches sympathize with the church universal, and resign their pastor for such a service; and if he is careful to honour the choice, he finds himself

not degraded, but advanced to higher esteem, as well as to wider usefulness.

I know of no one thing that has contributed to the success of these religious bodies equally with this; and simple as it is, it deserves to be made an indispensable principle of action. The opposite course is full of disaster. If, from a low estimate of the office, or from an unwillingness to incur charge, an inferior person is accepted to first rate appointments, you will soon find him surrounded only by men like or less than himself. He is officially the leader of the body; but if the weak lead the strong, there will be confusion and every evil work; and order will only be restored by the better men gradually disappearing. Incompetency propagates incompetency; and, at length, none but the weak aspire to a post which has been degraded in the eyes of men. Would I could say, that none of our societies have suffered from such causes! But it is impossible to put some of them in comparison, as we were forced to do, with the corresponding ones in the younger country, without painfully feeling their inferiority in such respects. The interests at stake are great and overwhelming; and a remedy should be applied without delay.

Besides the primary agents, most of these Societies have a considerable number that are secondary. They move among the associated churches in the different States, in a rotation adjusted with much precision and forethought, by their superiors. Their duty is to impart information, awaken zeal, and open new resources in favour of their object. Such agency would be needful in an ordinary case; it is peculiarly requisite here. The cause is so new and comparatively so unknown; and the persons to be interested and united in it, are scattered over such an amazing territory; that it could not be kept in vigour, if it were held in life, without such agency. I ascribe very much of the efficiency of the society in question to this cause.

Yet I will not scruple to avow, that I have considered, in some instances, the fair line of proportion, which it

is mostly so difficult to discern, to have been overstepped. In one or two cases, so many agents are employed as to make a fearful deduction on the gross receipts. But this is not the chief evil. I have reason to know that the subordinate agency is, as a whole, well chosen and efficient; still, it is evident, in proportion to the number demanded, is the risk of engaging the incompetent. Some of the deputies, therefore, are in capacity below the average of the pastors; and the average effect is then against the object to be promoted. If we have fallen below the mark, perhaps some of the transatlantic societies may have exceeded. Yet my objection would not be so much to the amount as to the quality; it cannot well be excessive, while it is excellent.

I must not dismiss this subject without remarking, that, while these societies are working nobly to their avowed end, they are exercising a collateral influence scarcely less important. They are insensibly dissolving the barriers which have kept good men asunder; and are teaching the churches of the faith that they are essentially one. They are the true ministers of revivals; and have worked, though perhaps unseen, more than every thing to that end. They have shown the preciousness of truth, and the worthlessness of error. They have called out the mazed attention from the metaphysical to the practical; and corrected practice has convinced men of the doctrine which is of God. They will consume, alike, Unitarianism on the one hand, and Anti-nomianism on the other. They are diffusing over the churches a heavenly piety; inspiring them with sublime expectations; and girding them for sublime devotedness. What is low, and little, and selfish, will die away before them; and, in the hour of their triumph, they will disclose to us the answer to the prayer which we have so often preferred,—"Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, even as it is in heaven!"

LETTER XXXVIII.

My dear Friend,

Having dwelt with some enlargement on the State of Religion in this country, both in its peculiar and ordinary manifestations, let me now impart what information I may on the kindred subject of *Education*. On no subject, perhaps, has attention been more fully or justly awakened; for we can only assume that the interests of religion amongst a people are sound and hopeful, as those of general instruction are imbued with these qualities.

Education is either collegiate or common. That which is collegiate will require our first consideration. The leading peculiarities of the colleges are, that some of them add to general learning that which is professional, and then they are eligible to be regarded as universities; others are strictly theological institutions, to prepare young men for the ministry; and others, it may be either theological or classical, are frequently denominated Manual Labour Institutions, from the circumstance of manual labour being extensively employed as a means of exercise and profit. If I refer you to a principal example in each class, you will be sufficiently informed on the subject; and will only have to make allowances for such variations as circumstances, for the time, may impose.

Yale College is certainly first of its class; and, for the number of its pupils, the variety of its schools, and its high reputation, it may challenge the name, equally with those which have it, of a university. It was established in 1700, at Saybrook. It derives its name from Elihu Yale, of London, its original benefactor. Bishop Berkeley also took an interest in its foundation; and presented it with one thousand volumes. It is composed of ten valuable erections; two of them of stone, and the

rest of brick: another hall is about to be erected. The students at present in attendance are as follows:—

Theological	55
Law	39
Medical	71
Seniors	66
Juniors	81
Sophomores	103
Freshmen	126
	541

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, are examined in Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Minora, Adams' Latin Grammar, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody, Writing Latin, Barnard's or Adams' Arithmetic, Murray's English Grammar, and Morse's, Worcester's, or Woodbridge's Geography. Jacobs' Greek Reader, and the Four Gospels, are admitted as a substitute for Græca Minora and the Greek Testament.

No one can be admitted to the Freshman Class, till he has completed his fourteenth year; nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age.

Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required; and those who are admitted from other colleges must produce certificates of dismission in good standing. The students are not considered as regular members of the college, till, after a residence of at least six months, they have been admitted to matriculation, on satisfactory evidence of an unblemished moral character. Before this they are only students on probation.

The government and instruction of the students are committed to the Faculty, which consists of a president; a professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; a professor of the Latin language and literature; a professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; a professor of divinity; a professor of rhetoric and oratory; a professor of the Greek language and literature; and eight tutors.

The whole course of instruction occupies four years; and in each year there are three terms or sessions.

The three younger classes are divided, each into two or three parts; and each of the divisions is committed to the particular charge of a tutor, who, with the assistance of the professors, instructs it. The Senior Class is instructed by the president and professors. Each of the four classes attends three recitations or lectures in a day; except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they have only two. The following scheme gives a general view of the authors recited each term:—

FRESHMAN CLASS.

I.

Folsom's Livy, from one half to two thirds.
Adams' Roman Antiquities.
Day's Algebra, begun.
Græca Majora, vol. i. begun.

II.

Folsom's Livy, finished.
Græca Majora, continued through the historical part, and Xenophon's Memorabilia.
Day's Algebra, finished.

III.

Horace, begun.
Græca Majora, vol. ii. begun.
Playfair's Euclid, five books.

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

I.

Horace, contined.
Græca Majora, continued.
Euclid, reviewed and finished.

II.

Horace finished and reviewed.
Juvenal, Leverett's edition, begun.
Græca Majora, continued.
Day's Mathematics; Plane Trigonometry, Nature and Use of Logarithms, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances, and Navigation.

III.

Græca Majora, continued.
Juvenal, finished.

Cicero de Oratore, begun.
Day's Mathematics; Surveying.
Bridge's Comic Sections.
Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry.
Jamieson's Rhetoric.

JUNIOR CLASS.

I.

Cicero de Oratore, finished.
Tacitus, begun.
Græca Majora, continued.
Olmsted's Natural Philosophy and Mechanics.

II.

Tacitus: the History; Manners of the Germans; and Agricola.
Græca Majora, continued.
Natural Philosophy, finished and reviewed.

III.

Astronomy.
Hedge's Logic.
Tytler's History.
Fluxions, Homer's Iliad, Hebrew, French, or Spanish, } *At the option of the Student.*

SENIOR CLASS.

I.

Blair's Rhetoric.
Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind.
Brown's ditto.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Kent's Commentaries on American Law, vol. i.
Greek and Latin.

II.	Evidences of Christianity.
Kent's Commentaries, vol. i. continued.	Greek and Latin.
Paley's Natural Theology.	III.
	Say's Political Economy.

In addition to the recitations in the books here specified, the classes receive lectures and occasional instruction from the professors of the Greek and Latin languages; the Junior Class attends a course of experimental lectures on natural philosophy; and the Senior Class, the course on chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and select subjects of natural philosophy and astronomy. The members of the several classes attend also the private exercises and lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. A course of lectures on the oration of Demosthenes for the crown, is delivered to members of the Senior Class. Specimens of English composition are exhibited daily, by one or more of each of the divisions of the Sophomore and Junior Classes. Written translations from Latin authors are presented by the Freshman Class. The lower classes are also instructed in Latin composition. The Senior and Junior Classes have forensic disputations once or twice a week, before their instructors. There are very frequent exercises in declamation, before the tutors, before the Professor of Oratory, and before the Faculty and students in the chapel.

Gentlemen, well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages, are engaged by the Faculty, to give instruction in these branches, to those students who desire it, at their own expense.

Worship is observed in the college chapel, every morning and evening; when one of the faculty officiates, and all the students are required to be present. They are also required to attend public worship in the chapel, on the Sabbath, except such as have permission to attend the Episcopal, or other congregations in town.

The college expenses are made out by the treasurer and steward, three times a year, at the close of each term; and are presented to the students, who are required to present them to their parents, guardians, or pa-

trons. He is not permitted to recite till the bills are paid.

The annual charges in the treasurer's bill are,—

	Dollars. Cts.
For instruction	33 00
For rent of chamber in college, from 6 to 12 dollars—average	9 00
For ordinary repairs and contingencies	2 40
For general damages, sweeping, &c., about	3 30
For wood for recitation rooms, about	1 30
	$49 00

Board is furnished in commons by the steward, at cost, about $1,87 a week; or $75 a year, not including vacations. It varies, however, with the price of provisions. Wood is procured by the corporation, and distributed to those students who apply for it, at cost and charges.

The following may be considered as a near estimate of the *necessary* expenses:—

	Dollars.	Dollars.
Treasurer's bill as above	49	49
Board in commons, 40 weeks	from 70	to 80
Fuel and light	—	8 to 16
Use of books recited, and stationary	—	5 to 15
Use of furniture, bed, and bedding	—	5 to 15
Washing	—	8 to 18
Taxes in the classes, &c.	—	5 to 7
Total,		$150 to $200

The tutors in these colleges hold, in some degree, a different place from those with us.

They are brought nearer to them; they reside amongst them; and they have charge of their moral conduct and obedience to the positive precepts of the college, as well as of their elementary instruction. This provision, it struck me, worked admirably.

The methods of education are all by lecture, by recitation, and by periodical examination; each method supplying the deficiencies of the others, and conferring an amount of benefit which is not to be found in the best use of any one alone. The best teachers appeared to be jealous of relying on much formal oral instruction; and

very commonly allow the regular lecture to be dissected by the most searching inquiry and discussion.

From the arrangements which I have quoted, it is also evident, that the leading object is not so much to force superiority in one department, as to supply competency to all. The powers of the students are not concentrated on one subject, but are exercised on several; and if this does not allow him to attain the highest knowledge in a given pursuit, his whole amount of knowledge may be as great; while his advancement in true wisdom may be much greater, since his education will have much more of proportion and of actual truth about it than would otherwise be possible. Undoubtedly, scholars of the first talent, and with the fixed determination of taste and habit to a particular study, should be encouraged to the utmost to consolidate their energies on that study, and to attain the heights of additional discovery. Such means, collegiate institutions will usually supply; and if not, true genius will create them; but, in discoursing of them as means of educating the people, their excellency will chiefly consist in calling up all the faculties of the mind, and in teaching them to master all those great elements of knowledge, which give acquaintance with life, symmetry to character, and the sagacity and efficiency of wisdom.

I should observe, that the younger colleges, as you may expect, are not commonly so well adjusted, or so vigorous in action, as Yale; but they are moving on to maturity with striking rapidity. A disadvantage to most of them is, that the majority of the students enter so late. In several instances, I found that the larger portion of undergraduates were nearer to thirty than twenty years of age. The usual course is four years. In many of the colleges there is no great strictness of examination for admission; but as the college rises in power, it imposes stricter terms.

I have now to notice the *Theological College*. Perhaps I cannot do better than to refer your attention to

Andover, whose commencement I have already briefly described. It was established, as I have stated, in 1807, and is supported by private beneficence. It has not been affected, as some colleges have, by State patronage and enactment; and is the most prosperous of its fellows. Its faculty is composed of the President; a Professor of Sacred Literature; a Professor of Christian Theology; a Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; and a Professor of Ecclesiastical History. The number of students is usually above one hundred. To obtain admission, they must produce certificates of pious and moral character; and of collegiate education, or of an education equal to it.

The following quotation, from a writer who, I believe, graduated there, will furnish you with an outline of the studies, and the manner of pursuing them, sufficiently distinct:—

"There are three classes, called the Junior, Middle, and Senior. The first year, the Bible is studied in the original languages. All the aid which can be obtained from the learning of other commentators, without regard to their peculiar views, is eagerly sought. The Bible, however, is the text-book; and the Dictionary, with other philological helps, the principal expositor. As the class assembles in the lecture-room, there is free discussion of the meaning of the passage to which they are attending. Freedom of investigation is earnestly encouraged in connexion with a humble and prayerful spirit. In the lecture-room, every mind is on the alert, and each individual is willing to express dissent from the opinion expressed by his fellow-student or the professor. The study of the Bible is thus prosecuted, during the year, with unwearied diligence.

"The second year is devoted to the investigation of Doctrinal Theology. The following is a list of the topics which engage attention, in the order in which they are taken up:—1. Natural Theology; 2. Evidences of Divine Revelation; 3. Inspiration of the Scriptures; 4. Christian Theology; 5. Divine Attributes; 6. Trinity in the Godhead; 7. Character of Christ; 8. Sonship of Christ;

9. Holy Spirit; 10. Divine Purposes; 11. Moral Agency; 12. Original Apostacy; 13. Character and State of Man since the Fall; 14. Atonement; 15. Regeneration; 16. Christian Virtue, or Holiness; 17. Particular Branches of Christian Virtue; 18. Justification; 19. Perseverance of the Saints; 20. Future State; 21. Future Punishment; 22. Positive Institutions; 23. Christian Church; 24. Infant Baptism; 25. Mode of Baptism; 26. Lord's Supper. These general topics, of course, admit of many subdivisions, which it is not necessary here to introduce.

"There is an outline of the course of study placed in the hands of each of the students, in which there is reference to all the important works in the library, which treat of the subject under investigation. The students become familiar with the reasonings of writers on both sides. They discuss the subjects with entire freedom with one another; and in the lecture-room, with the professor. No one hesitates to bring forward any objection which his reading or his meditations have suggested. Every student knows that in this land, where there is such unrestrained license of opinion, the clergyman must be continually meeting with the strongest arguments of subtle foes; they all know that it is necessary that they should be well armed for the conflict which awaits them. Another consequence is, that the cavils of the infidel are, perhaps, as thoroughly studied as the arguments of the Christian. The above outline certainly does not contain all the important topics in Christian Theology. It is intended merely as the foundation, deep and broad, upon which the student is to build in future years. It gives direction to his studies, and tells him what he wants.

"The third year is devoted to sacred rhetoric. The critical preparation of sermons, the study of church history, and pastoral duties. During the latter part of the year, the students occasionally preach in the chapel, and in the neighbouring villages; and the demand for ministerial labour is so great, that but a few months

elapse after they leave the seminary, before nearly all are settled. The demand for pastors is vastly greater than our seminaries can at present supply."

Let me now pass to those colleges which, for the sake of distinction, are called *Manual Labour Institutions*. The most interesting specimen which I have seen is that at Cincinnati. This institution is delightfully situated on the Walnut Hills, two miles from the city. It is known as the Lane Seminary, and derives its name from Messrs. E. and W. Lane, Merchants of New Orleans, who were its first benefactors. Since then, other donations have been made; and amongst them, 20,000 dollars have been given by Arthur Tappan, Esq., to endow a professorship. It has erections competent to receive a hundred students, and about that number are now on the foundation. Dr. Beecher, whom I noticed as being in New England in September, was there on its interests; and he succeeded so well, as to procure 10,000 dollars for a library; 15,000 for a professorship; and 10,000 for a chapel. The present faculty consists of a President and Professor of Theology; a Professor of Church History; a Professor of Biblical Literature; a Professor of Languages; a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and a Superintendent.

By its prospectus, it proposes to act on a platform, equally elevated and expanded as that of the eastern establishments; but you would be deceived if you should conclude that all that was thus set forth is accomplished. It rather shows intention for the future, than the image of the present deed; like many of the cities of this Western world, which look complete and magnificent in architectural drawing, but which have as yet scarcely disturbed the green sward of the forest. It is obliged for the present to accommodate itself to circumstances. This seminary is meant to be chiefly theological; but, because the young men, who seek its benefits, have not been able to make previous acquisition, it necessarily takes the form of a collegiate, and even of a grammar-

school, establishment. Its peculiarity, however, is, that it employs manual labour as an ingredient in its system. The following quotations from a well digested report may best illustrate this subject; and as it has recently excited inquiry, I presume that they will be read with interest:—

"Whatever may be the theoretical objections of good men, practically unacquainted with this system, to its practicability and importance, it is to the directors no longer a matter of experiment, but of sober fact, resulting from three or four years experience, that the connexion of three hours daily labour, in some useful and interesting employment, with study, protects the health and constitution of our young men; greatly augments their physical energy; furnishes to a considerable extent, or entirely, the means of self-education; increases their power of intellectual acquisition; facilitates their actual progress in study; removes the temptations of idleness; confirms their habits of industry; gives them a practical acquaintance with the useful employments of life; fits them for the toils and responsibilities of a newly-settled country; and inspires them with the independence of character, and the originality of investigation, which belongs peculiarly to self-made and self-educated men.

"While the making of money was ever regarded by the friends of this system as one of its minor, and subsidiary results; and while its grand and leading object would be fully accomplished by its direct action in protecting the lives and health of our young men, and securing their intellectual elevation, irrespective of considerations of gain; yet the pecuniary aids thus secured for self-support, especially by such as are without means, are to be reckoned amongst the peculiar benefits of the manual labour system. The contiguity of our institution to the city of Cincinnati, affords peculiar facilities, such as are seldom enjoyed, for the successful operation and improvement of the manual labour department.

"During the early part of the last year, an arrange-

ment was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Corey and Fairbank, booksellers, of Cincinnati, to furnish the students with several printing presses, and with stereotype plates for printing Webster's Spelling Book. This establishment has been in operation nearly a year, and now embraces six presses, furnishing work for twenty students.

"About 150,000 copies of the above-named work have been printed, and about 1000 copies per day are now issued from the presses; thus furnishing our young men with the privilege of scattering the light and benefits of rudimental education amongst more than 500,000 of the rising generation annually, while they have enjoyed the best kind of labour for the promotion of health, and been successfully engaged in procuring the means of self-support.

"Besides the common work of printing Webster's Spelling Book, and the Elementary Reader, the students have recently commenced the printing of an edition of Dr. Eberle's Treatise on the Diseases of Children, a valuable medical work, which requires fine paper, and the best workmanship; and it is believed that in all respects, the execution of the work is highly satisfactory to the employers.

	Dollars.	Cts.
The average amount earned by six printers in ten months, by working about three hours per day	120	00
Average amount earned at the same rate in a year	144	00
Amount now earned by twenty students per week	50	82
Average amount	2	54
Average amount earned by twenty students at the same rate as above, per year	132	08

"In view of these results, and the small annual expense of this institution, it is hardly necessary to remark, that the students in this department have the high satisfaction of providing the means of their own education without aid from friends, or from the benefactions of the church.

"This arrangement is the more important for our young men, from the fact, that a knowledge of the busi-

ness is easily acquired; several of the students having gained such an acquaintance with the employment in three or four weeks as to be able to earn forty-six cents per day, or two dollars and seventy-six cents per week, by working three hours per day.

"This operation is highly satisfactory to the committee, not only as furnishing a useful and advantageous employment to the students, but as it is unattended with any expense to the institution in furnishing presses, or in the printing and disposition of the books. From nearly a year's full experiment, the committee are fully persuaded that this branch of our manual labour has peculiar advantages in respect to its simplicity, its appropriate exercise, its general utility, and pecuniary results.

"At the commencement of the spring term, an arrangement was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Skinner and Tompkins, of Cincinnati, by which from twenty to thirty of our students have been furnished with cabinet-making employment.

"This branch of business is considered as one of the most desirable that can be introduced, as to its general utility, its vigorous exercise, the ready sale of furniture, and the reasonable compensation which it affords to the manufacturer. In this arrangement the employers have furnished all the materials, and paid the students the regular prices for their work by the piece; by which the institution has been freed from pecuniary responsibility, while the students have secured to themselves all the benefits of their labour, and received a reasonable compensation for their services.

"Several of the best workmen have earned from twelve and a half to fifteen cents per hour, and have received for their services during the time above specified from forty to sixty dollars each; while those who have recently commenced learning the business, have earned from ten to twenty dollars each.

"While the fact is here rendered obvious that a first rate mechanic is entirely independent in this institution,

and can support himself by his three-hours labour without infringing at all upon his study hours; the committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that such results are secured only by young men of energetic, industrious, and economical habits; and that those of different character, and who have little or no knowledge of tools ought not to rely, to any considerable extent, at least for the first year, upon their labour as the means of paying the expenses of the institution.

"No small injury is threatened to manual labour institutions, and no small embarrassment has been felt by this seminary in common with others, in consequence of the erroneous impression too commonly prevalent, that no funds will be needed in a manual labour institution, even when the student has no trade, no knowledge of any kind of business, no power of accomplishment, and little disposition to perform the labour offered him as the means of paying his expenses.

"The committee believe that much profitable labour can be performed on a farm of one hundred and ten acres, within two miles of the city, when our farm shall be raised to the highest state of cultivation; but as little of this kind of labour can be attended to, except for a small part of the year, it is evident that most of our young men must turn their attention, at least for a part of the year, to mechanical employments. Nor is this to be regretted, as such employments are generally more lucrative than those of agriculture, furnish the best exercise, and business for all seasons of the year; and a practical knowledge of some trade which may be highly useful in all subsequent life. The farmers who perform the labour of a man, are allowed their board for three hours labour per day.

"With a view to extend and equalize the advantages of education, the committee have used every effort to diminish the expenses of the seminary. The following statement will show that the term-bills are made so low, as by the aid of manual labour, to bring the advantages

of this institution within the reach of all young men of worth who wish to enjoy its benefits.

"Students in the theological department are at no expense for tuition. In the preparatory department, tuition is twenty dollars per annum. Board in commons, one dollar per week. Room rent, from three to five dollars per annum. Washing, fuel, lights, and incidental expenses generally, about twenty dollars per annum. The whole necessary expense, therefore, of a theological student, at this institution, may be safely estimated at about sixty dollars per annum, and of a student in the preparatory department at about eighty dollars per annum; while the avails of labour during term-time may be estimated for a farmer, at from thirty to forty dollars, and for a mechanic, at from fifty to one hundred dollars per annum, exclusive of what may be obtained by industry during the twelve weeks of vacation."

It will be seen, from these statements, that labour has been applied to three departments, Printing, Cabinet-making, and Farming. The time demanded for manual occupation is three hours a day; and if the student is adroit and industrious, he may, after short practice, earn enough to make himself independent.

In the peculiarity referred to, the institutions of Illinois, Indiana, and Oneida, bear strong resemblance; except that Lane Seminary has made a longer experiment, and with more advantages. The opinions of those who have had most to do with these institutions, is, on the whole, in their favour. Still it is not more than an experiment; and we must wait for the results. If too much reliance is placed on it, it may create disappointment. Should it be thought that it may be adequate to self-support, it may draw off liberality and public interest from our colleges; and if what, under any circumstances, should be held as subordinate, should be made primary, the very ends of their existence will be neutralized. This arrangement has been suggested by the state of society; and as the state of society alters, it will lose its prominence; but why, in the most ad-

vanced condition of society, and of a college, those hours, which are now given by the student to childish sports, or walks without an object, should not be yielded to rural occupations, it would be difficult to conceive. Exercise is health, and occupation is morality; and if the farm and garden were made a necessary appendage to a college, both might be secured with the fullest advantage. What an amount of vice might have been prevented—and what character saved from wreck, by such a wise and pleasant arrangement! And how many a fair youth, of special promise and ardent temperament, had been spared to his friends and the world, if his young and excessive passion for letters had been qualified by healthful employment!

It is but justice to those who encourage and sustain the principle of manual labour in these colleges, to say, that it is not adopted from a depreciated estimate of the value of thorough mental cultivation. They consider that study must have its intervals; and these they desire to occupy at once to the advantage of the pupil and the existing state of the Institution. His hours of relaxation they would employ for his physical education; and they consider that this would be subsidiary, in no slight degree, to his mental and moral education.

Before I offer any more general remarks, let me close this sketch of the collegiate establishments, by a list of the whole. It has been put into my hand by a friend; and by comparison and otherwise, I have reason to regard it as very accurate:—

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAINE.

	Students.
Bangor Theological Seminary, at Bangor (Congreg.)	6

MASSACHUSETTS.

Theological Seminary, at Andover (Congr.)	145
Theological School, at Cambridge (Con. Unit.)	31
Theological Institution, at Newtown (Baptist)	40

CONNECTICUT.

Theological Dep. Yale College, at New Haven (Congr.)	49

NEW YORK.

	Students.
Theological Institution Episcopal Church, at New York (Epis.)	50
Theological Seminary of Auburn, at Auburn (Presbyt.)	54
Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, at Hamilton (Baptist)	38
Hartwick Seminary, at Hartwick (Lutheran)	9

NEW JERSEY.

Theological Seminary Dutch Reformed Church, at New Brunswick	24
Theological Seminary, at Princeton (Presbyt.)	136

PENNSYLVANIA.

Seminary at Gettysburg (Evangel. Lutheran)	20
German Reformed, at York	20
Western Theological Seminary, Allegany T. (Presbyt.)	29

VIRGINIA.

Episcopal Theological School, Fairfax County (Prot. Ep.)	70
Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward County (Presbyt.)	33

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Southern Theological Seminary, at Columbia (Presbyt.)	21
Theological Seminary, at Lexington (Lutheran)	—
Furman Theological Seminary, at High Hills (Baptist)	20

TENNESSEE.

South West Theological Seminary, at Maryville (Presbyt.)	22

OHIO.

Lane Seminary, at Cincinnati (Presbyterian)	100

There are Roman Catholic Theological Seminaries at Baltimore and near Emmitsburg, Maryland; at Charleston, South Carolina; near Bardstown, and in Washington County, Kentucky; and in Perry County, Missouri.

COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAINE.

1. Bowdoin College, at Brunswick (Congregationalist)	150
2. Waterville College, at Waterville (Baptist)	80

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

3. Dartmouth College, at Hanover (Congr.)	160

VERMONT.

	Students.
4. Middlebury College, at Middlebury (Congr.)	130
5. Vermont University, at Burlington (Congr.)	80

MASSACHUSETTS.

6. Harvard University, at Cambridge (Unitarian)	210
7. Amherst College, at Amherst (Congr.)	230
8. Williams College, at Williamstown (Congr.)	130

RHODE ISLAND.

9. Brown University, at Providence (Baptist)	130

CONNECTICUT.

10. Yale College, at New Haven (Congr.)	500
11. Washington College, at Hartford (Episcopal)	70
12. Wesleyan University, at Middletown (Methodist)	80

NEW YORK.

13. New York University, at New York (no religious persuasion)	150
14. Columbia College, at New York (Episcopal)	150
15. Union College, at Schenectady (Presbyterian)	210
16. Hamilton College, at Clinton (Presbyterian)	100
17. Geneva College, at Geneva (Episcopal)	80

NEW JERSEY.

18. Rutgers College, at New Brunswick (Reformed Dutch)	80
19. New Jersey College, at Princeton (Presbyterian)	180

PENNSYLVANIA.

20. University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia (Episcopal)	120
21. Lafayette College, at Easton (Presbyterian)	80
22. Bristol College, near Bristol (Episcopal)	80
23. Pennsylvania College, at Gettysbury (Lutheran)	100
24. Dickinson College, at Carlisle (Methodist)	100
25. Jefferson College, at Canonburg (Presbyterian)	230
26. Washington College, at Washington (Presbyterian)	150
27. Western University of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg (Cov.)	85
28. Allegany College, at Meadville (Methodist)	80

Girard College, building at Philadelphia, will cost in building 700,000 dollars; has a fund of 2,000,000 dollars for orphan boys.

DELAWARE.

29. Delaware College, at Newark (Presbyterian)	50

MARYLAND.

30. St. Mary's College, at Baltimore (Catholic)	80
31. St. Mary's College, at Emittsburg (Catholic)	120
32. St. John's College, at Annapolis (Episcopal)	80

VIRGINIA.

33. William and Mary College, at Williamsburg (Episcopal.)	75

	Students.
34. University of Virginia, at Charlottesville	180
35. Hampden-Sidney College, Prince Edward County (Episcopal)	80
36. Washington College, at Lexington (Presbyterian)	75
37. Randolph College, at Lexington (Methodist)	80
38. Columbian College, at Washington (Baptist)	70
39. Columbian College, at Georgetown (Catholic)	120

NORTH CAROLINA.

40. North Carolina University, at Chapel Hill	120

SOUTH CAROLINA.

41. South Carolina University, at Columbia	60
42. Charleston College, at Charleston (Episcopal)	120

GEORGIA.

43. Georgia University, at Athens (Presbyterian)	120

ALABAMA.

44. University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa (Baptist)	70
45. La Grange College, at La Grange, in Alabama (Methodist)	100
46. Spring Hill College, Mobile (Catholic)	110

A new College is about to commence at Marion, by the Presbyterians.

LOUISIANA.

47. College of Louisiana, at Jackson (no religious influence)	80
48. College at Ibberville (Catholic)	100

A new College is about to be built in the Opelourus district, by the friends of education. Catholics are seeking its control.

MISSISSIPPI.

49. Jefferson College, at Washington (no religious persuasion)	50
50. Oakhill College, near Port Gibson (Presbyterian)	70

TENNESSEE.

51. Nashville University, at Nashville (Presbyterian)	90
52. College near Columbia (Presbyterian)	80
53. East Tennessee College, at Knoxville (Presbyterian)	30
54. Washington College, near Jonesboro, (Presbyterian)	30
55. Washington College, at ——— (Presbyterian)	30

KENTUCKY.

56. Transylvania University, at Lexington (Episcopal)	70
57. Centre College, at Danville (Presbyterian)	90
58. Georgetown College, at Georgetown (Baptist)	40
59. Bardstown College, at Bardstown (Catholic)	100
60. Bardstown College, in Washington county (Catholic)	100
61. Cumberland College, at Princeton (Cumb. Presbyterian)	120
62. Augusta College, at Augusta (Methodist)	110

OHIO.

	Students.
63. Athenæum, at Cincinnati (Catholic)	90
64. Miami University, at Oxford (Presbyterian)	160
65. Ohio University, at Athens (Presbyterian)	90
66. Franklin College, at New Athens (Presbyterian)	50
67. Kenyon College, at Gambier (Episcopal)	150
68. Western Reserve College, at Hudson (Presbyterian)	100
69. Ripley College, at Ripley	50

INDIANA.

70. College of Indiana, at Bloomington (Presbyterian)	60
71. South Hanover College, near Madison (Presbyterian)	120

ILLINOIS.

72. Illinois College, at Jacksonville (Presbyterian)	90

MISSOURI.

73. Marion College, near Palmyra (Presbyterian)	50
74. Missouri University, at St. Louis (Catholic)	140
75. Bishop's College, at Barrens, Perry county (Catholic)	120

I think you will not be able to pass your eye over this list, and the previous statements, and connect them with the circumstances of the people, without being filled with surprise and admiration. Here are no less than TWENTY-ONE theological colleges, all of which have been instituted since the year 1808! and they contain 853 students, and have accumulated 57,000 volumes! Here are SEVENTY-FIVE colleges for general education, most of them with professional departments, and they have 8,136 students! and FORTY of these have been created since the year 1814! Altogether there are NINETY-SIX colleges, and no less than NINE THOUSAND AND THIRTY-TWO students! Some of these colleges are literally springing up in the desert, and are putting themselves in readiness to bless generations that shall be born! It is impossible not to feel that the influence they exert must be amazing in extent, and in the highest degree sanitory.

Besides the general influence which they must have, I wish to remark their effect on the ministry. In doing so, it must be candidly admitted that many persons composing the existing ministry have not graduated in any college, and therefore have, at least, no *direct* benefit.

The Methodists and Baptists, especially, have here, as they have with us, undervalued an educated ministry; and many who have entered a college have, from pious but indiscreet zeal, not kept terms. Of the 11,000 ministers reported, I should think 3,000 may be regarded as mostly self-taught; and of the 8,000 left, I should conclude that upwards of 2,000 had not regularly graduated in their respective colleges. Still this leaves nearly 6,000 who have been fairly educated; and this amount does, in fact, give to the entire ministry as much the character of intelligence and cultivation as shall any where be found.

Whatever may be the actual use of the means to be found in this country, certainly those means, as they contribute to supply the church with a well-trained and efficient ministry, excel any thing which we have at home. The student for the sacred calling gets a better classical and general education, than he would get in our dissenting colleges, while his professional education is not inferior; and he gets a theological education unspeakably better than Oxford or Cambridge would afford him, though his classical advantages would be less. He derives a two-fold advantage from the arrangements at home, as compared with our colleges, and they relate to *method* and *time*. The general course of learning, and the professional course, are kept perfectly distinct; and the professional is made to follow the collegiate; and the certificate of excellence in the one course is requisite to commencement in the other. The *time* also is adequate; four years are allowed for what is preparatory, and three years for what is professional.

After these references you may be anxious to know, what would be my judgment as to the comparative practical efficiency of their ministry. So far as general statement can meet such a question, I would not withhold an impartial opinion, since just distinction on such a subject must be of the utmost importance. That the ministry of that country, whether educated or uneducated, must in itself be highly efficient, is placed beyond

dispute, in every competent judgment, by the single and exhilarating fact—THAT IT IS A REGENERATED MINISTRY. Yes, as far as I could ascertain, the whole body of the orthodox ministers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and mostly the Episcopalians, are truly regenerated men. Bringing the *whole* ministry there, and the *whole* ministry here, to this single and vital test, I leave you to say where the advantage rests.

There are other points of comparison that may not be without profit, and in which we shall not uniformly be the losers. If the ministers there have decidedly the best opportunities of preparing for their work, I think they usually avail themselves less of them afterwards, than is common with us. They have fewer books, and they read less; they seem to rely more on what the college has done for them; and they consume so much time in writing their own thoughts, as to allow them little for enlarged communion with those of other, and mostly better, men.

In many cases, they require to be more intellectual, but less metaphysical in their ministry; and to consult manner as well as intention. We have, undoubtedly, many men who equal them in earnest and powerful address to the conscience, but, as a body, they have decidedly more directness in their ministration. We look more at what is secondary, they at what is primary. They, in looking to the end, will often disregard the means by which they may best attain it; and we as often, in regarding the complicated means, may lose sight of the end for a season. They have less respect for the nicer feelings; and we have more difficulty, when our purpose is distinctly before us, of moving towards it. They have more promptness and decision, and move with sudden power to a given object; but if that object is to be obtained by patient and steady perseverance, we are rather more likely to be successful. In doing an evident and great good, they do not always consider whether they may not do a proportionate mischief; while we, frequently, from the fear of consequences, do almost

nothing. They make the better evangelists; and we the better pastors.

Circumstances in either country have undoubtedly contributed to produce these differences; and the consideration both of cause and effect may be profitable to each party. One may readily see in this ministerial character a connexion with the revivals, which have at various seasons been developed. How far the character may have caused the revivals, or the revivals created the character, though a curious, is by no means a useless inquiry. But I must recover myself from this digression.

LETTER XXXIX.

My dear Friend,

Let us now pass from the College to a class of institutions which falls under the appellation of *Common Schools.* It will be best, perhaps, to take an example from the Old States, and afterwards from the New; and to attend and follow these by such remarks as may assist to complete your acquaintance with this department of education.

Of the Old States, Massachusetts has made the fullest experiment; and as the results are the riper, it may the better serve our purpose. The following extracts from a letter on this subject are so clear and appropriate as to induce me to insert them:—

"You ask to be informed of our school system, the way in which money is raised, its amount, and its application.

"It has been alike the happiness and glory of the people of Massachusetts, from the earliest settlement of the colony, to have made ample provision for the education of children and youth; and what is truly remarkable, the mode which was first adopted for effecting this purpose,

by public contributions, equally apportioned according to the ability of the country and of the inhabitants respectively, has remained unchanged to the present time. In the year 1647, a law was passed, which required such townships as had fifty householders to appoint some person within their towns, to teach children to write and to read; and towns, which had one thousand householders, to maintain a grammar school, in which youth might be fitted for the University, in the quaint language of the preamble to the Act—'It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, and to the end, that knowledge might not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours.' By subsequent statutes, as the country advanced in population and wealth, the number of schools to be supported by the towns, in the fulfilment of *corporate* obligations, was increased, the required qualifications of teachers raised, and the penalty for neglect in maintaining the schools, each year, which was at first five pounds, was advanced, from time to time, to thirty and forty pounds. To prevent incompetent and improper instructors from being employed, it was required that they should be subjected to an examination by the clergymen of the town, and approved by the select-men. Parents and masters were also enjoined to allow those under their care to improve the opportunities publicly afforded for their instruction, and a species of literary and moral police, constituted of the ministers of religion, overseers and officers of the college, and civil magistrates, to see that neglect and breaches of the laws were duly noticed and punished.

"Such is a brief outline of the institution of common schools under the colonial and provincial charters. A review of the ancient statutes presents much matter for interesting reflection, and shows with how great solicitude the support of their primary seminaries was regulated, and the care which was taken to prevent an evasion of the requirements of authority, on the part of the

towns. After the formation of the State Constitution, the statutes were revised, and, by a law of the commonwealth, passed in 1789, it was required of every town or district, containing fifty families or householders, to be provided with a schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, of good morals, *to teach children to read and write, and instruct them in the English language, as well as in arithmetic, orthography, and decent behaviour, for such term of time as shall be equivalent to six months for one school in each year.* And any town or district, containing one hundred families or householders, was to be provided with such master or masters, *for such term of time as should be equivalent to one school for the whole year.* Additional schools, and of higher character, were to be maintained by towns of greater ability; and authority was given to towns to create and define school districts, within the limits of which schoolhouses were to be erected and schools kept, and to raise money for their support, by assessment of the polls and rateable estates of the inhabitants, to be collected in the manner of other taxes. Schoolmasters, before they were employed, were to be examined and approved, and all the obligations created by law were enforced by high pecuniary sanctions. In 1827, these laws were again revised, and *some improvement in the plan of regulating and teaching* the schools, which experience had suggested, were introduced.

"The more particular details of the system by which the common schools of Massachusetts have now, for two centuries, been effectually maintained, and made eminently successful in diffusing knowledge and the principles of virtue and piety among the people, are better gathered from the statute books, than from any abstract which may be offered of their various provisions. The practical operation of the laws has been, to secure, *in every district and village of the commonwealth,* the means of regular instruction to children in the elementary branches of learning, and where there was wealth and population to justify the occasion, the estab-

lishment and support of schools of competent character to prepare youth for admission to college, or to enter upon the active business of life. The towns are divided, by their own act, under the authority of the law, into convenient and distinct districts, with precise geographical limits, having regard to the dispersed or compact situation of the inhabitants. In each of these districts is a school-house, the erection and repairs of which may be caused by the town, or by the district themselves, which, for this purpose, have the powers of corporations in holding meetings and granting money. The money, to maintain the schools, is granted by the towns in their meetings, held in the month of March or April annually, and is afterwards assessed and collected with the other taxes for the year. It is usually distributed among the districts, by orders drawn by the select-men, or the treasurer, according to some proportion, either of the amount paid within the district, or the numbers of minors, or to each district an equal part; and in all instances, in conformity with a previous vote of the town. By the late law, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven, is required to be chosen annually, who have the general direction and oversight of the schools. It is made their duty to employ the instructors of the highest schools, and to examine into the character and qualifications of all the others. They are to visit the schools frequently, and to ascertain, by their own observation, that they are faithfully taught. They have authority to prescribe the class-books which are to be used, and, in their discretion, to cause them to be purchased, at the expense of the town, and furnished to those who are destitute of them, to be assessed afterwards on the parents or guardians, who should have supplied them, unless from poverty they shall be excused by the assessors. A committee-man is also chosen for each district, for the management of the prudential concerns of the school within his district, whose particular duty it is to engage the instructor for the district, with the approbation of the school committee, to see that the school is

accommodated with a suitable house, to provide fuel and proper conveniences, and to consult with, and give such information and aid to the committee of the town, as may enable them to discharge their assigned duties.

"As to the amount of money raised annually in the different towns of Massachusetts, for the support of public schools, it is obvious, from referring to the provisions of the law, that it varies with the situation and ability of the respective corporations. If in towns having fifty families, schools are maintained, at the public charge, for as great a proportion of the year as would be equal to one school for six months; and in towns having one hundred families, for such terms of time as would be equivalent to one school for the whole year, and so on, according to the enactment; the law is satisfied. But it rarely happens that so little is done as would be limited by a strict compliance with legal requirements. It may be considered as a general remark, applicable alike to all the towns, that, in granting money for schools, the only inquiry is, how much benefit will the situation of the inhabitants admit of their deriving from opportunities for the instruction of their children; and the answer has a higher relation to their desire for the improvement of schools, than to the money which might be saved in the time of keeping them. The usual arrangement in country towns is to provide sufficient means for keeping a man's school for the three winter months, with a more particular reference to the instruction of boys and youth of some advance in years, and a woman's school for children, during the rest of the year, or at least through the summer months, in each district of the town, and scarcely less than this is done in any school district of the most inconsiderable towns. In many places much more is accomplished. But as the information, which has been requested, relates to schools enjoined by law, the maintenance of those supported by subscription, or kept by individuals on their own account, of the one or the other of which classes there are some in the most populous towns, is not noticed.

"It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing detail, that schools are established throughout Massachusetts by the authority of law;—that they are kept a portion of each year in such convenient districts in every town, as to afford opportunity to all the children and youth to attend them;—that the money raised by the town to defray the expense of all the schools, is distributed by some just and satisfactory rule of proportion among the districts;—that competent and suitable teachers are secured by the obligation to which they are subjected of an examination and approval by the school committee, and that fidelity, in the discharge of their duty, is enforced by their responsibility to this committee, who are required frequently to visit the schools, prescribe the books to be used, and direct the course of instruction. As a system of public and general arrangement, it seems hardly possible it should be improved. The particular attention which was given to the whole subject upon the last revision of the law could suggest nothing better. It will be recollected, however, *that there is not, nor has there ever been, a public school fund in Massachusetts.* The support of the schools depends upon the requisition of law, and the force of public sentiment in their favour. It has been sometimes the suggestion of observant and wise men, that a greater interest is manifested in their proper improvement where this is the case, and when the inducement of a personal concern in the expense is added to a sense of duty in directing its appropriation. Certain it is, that there has never been any want of interest manifested here, either in raising a sufficient amount of money, or in attending to its most useful application. The result is every where seen in the degree of education and qualification for business, which is possessed by all classes of the people. Even in the humblest condition of society, a native citizen of Massachusetts will hardly be found, incapable of reading and writing, or ignorant of the rudiments of grammar and the elementary rules of arithmetic, while there are thousands, who through the instrumentality of the public schools

alone, have acquired a classical education, and been eminently useful and distinguished in life."

From this statement you will observe that the primary school is the first to make its appearance; and that it does this when some fifty persons have settled in a district. Like every thing else in the young settlement, it is at first small; and, though valuable, insignificant. A mistress is the teacher, and she officiates perhaps only for half the year. A master is afterwards procured for the winter months, and the school is in constant action. As the inhabitants thicken, a grammar school is added; the children, at a given age, are translated to it, and it supplies them with a good English education.

In the large town, in Boston for instance, the system still develops itself, according to the demands made upon it. There is, 1. the *primary school*, which provides instruction, by a mistress, for children between four and seven years of age. It is a class of infant school, and prepares its little charge in the first rudiments of learning. 2. There is the *grammar school*. This school provides for the child from seven to fourteen years of age; and he enters by a certificate from the primary school. His education is still wholly English; he is thoroughly taught in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography; and these are deemed sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life. The schools are usually got up in three stories; they are of good dimensions, and exceedingly well arranged. It is usual for the classes to change the rooms in fulfilling different pursuits. Exactly the same provisions are made for the girls; and, while the assistants are of their own sex, the principal in each school is a master. I had opportunities of examining some classes in this order of school, and certainly I have never found boys to excel, or girls to equal them. It was not merely the memory that was trained and stored; all the faculties were educated.

Then there is springing out of these, and the wants of an advancing community, two other schools. The one is termed the *English High School*. Its object is to fur-

nish young men who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed all the advantages of the other schools, with the means of completing a good English education, to fit them for active life, and to qualify them for eminence in private and public stations. This institution, therefore, provides instruction in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and arts; in grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres; in moral philosphy; in history, natural, and civil; and in the French language. It is supplied with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus for the purpose of experiment and illustration.

The other institution is the *Latin school.* This completes the system; and is designed for those who are about to pass to college. The Latin and Greek languages are taught here. Instruction is also given in mathematics, geography, history, elocution, and English composition.

The practical wisdom of this twofold arrangement, must, I think, commend itself to every one. It supplies alike to the young tradesman, and the young scholar, just what they want; and introduces them to their respective course of life with the greatest advantage. No time is wasted in useless pursuit; where the classical languages are needed they are supplied; where they are not, they are withheld. The education is not only good in itself; it is doubled in value by the principle of adaptation.

Although I have selected Massachusetts as most fruitful in results, it is not the most perfect in its general system. The States which have been settled later, especially Maine, have incorporated the modern improvements with more readiness, and have availed themselves of the experience of elder associates. This State has recently made many important variations; especially in adopting the monitorial methods.

Whatever may have been the variations, it is unquestionable that the system has operated most delightfully for

New England. It was lately ascertained, by returns from 131 towns in Massachusetts, that the number of scholars was 12,393; that the number of persons in those towns, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, who are unable to write, was fifty-eight; and that in one town there were only three persons who could not read and write, and these three were dumb!

In Connecticut it was found that 275,000 persons were in attendance on the free schools; and in New England generally it may be safely affirmed that the whole population are educated. The exceptions would not amount to more than two or three thousand; and these composed mostly of blacks and foreigners.

The provisions of the system are made, and ostensibly fulfilled by the government. In Connecticut the whole expense is met by an existing fund; in Massachusetts, and the other New England States, it is chiefly met by taxation. Taxation, however, in this connexion, has been misunderstood. It is not the government who impose a general tax; but the people who meet, and impose the tax on themselves. True it is, that the government threatens penalties, in case its provisions are not executed; but such is the power of public sentiment in favour of education, that I could not find an instance in which coercion was necessary. The payment which they levy upon themselves also, is usually beyond what any provisions of law would require; so that the entire work may be regarded rather as the fruit of voluntary action than of any other principle. The wisdom of the legislature is shown to lie in the encouragement of the voluntary principle, not in superseding it; and it is generally admitted, that where it is excluded from the system, either by legal enactment, or, as in the case of Connecticut, by an adequate fund, the popular education is by no means so efficient.

Let us now turn for an example to the middle States, which are of later settlement. New York is undoubtedly the best, and deserves our attentive consideration. The following statements from the pen of the Secretary

of State, and the Superintendent of the Schools, is commended alike for its brevity and clearness:—

"The revenue arising from the school fund is apportioned, by the superintendent, to the several towns and cities in the state, in the ratio of the population in the cities, and in proportion to the children between five and sixteen in the towns. The amount of the apportionment for each county, is transmitted to the board of supervisors, which body is required annually to assess, upon the taxable inhabitants of each town, a sum equal to that which is apportioned to the town by the superintendent. Thus there is paid from the state treasury, to each town, a certain sum, on condition that the taxable inhabitants of the town raise a like sum, and the amount thus provided must be applied exclusively to the payment of teacher's wages, and of those duly qualified, according to the provision of the school law.

"The amount paid from the state treasury is transmitted to the treasury of each county, and by this officer paid to the school commissioners, three of whom are annually chosen in each town; the collector of the town pays the amount assessed upon the town for the use of schools, to the same commissioners; these commissioners apportion the money which comes into their hands to such districts as have complied with the conditions of the statute, and have made their returns to the commissioners accordingly.

"The trustees of each district are required to account for the expenditure of the money by an annual report to the commissioners of the town, embracing, also, the number of children, and the general condition of the district. If they fail to make the report, the school money is apportioned to such districts as do report. The town commissioners are also required to make an annual report, accounting for the money received for their town, giving the number of districts, and an abstract of the returns from the several districts. The reports of the commissioners are sent to the county clerk, who is required to transmit copies thereof to the superintendent

of common schools. It is made the duty of the superintendent to present an annual report to the Legislature, containing an abstract of the reports received from the several towns, &c. Each town appoints annually three commissioners, whose duty it is to divide the town into a convenient number of school districts, to receive the school monies for the town, and apportion them among the several districts, and to make an annual report to the superintendent. Each town clerk, is *ex officio*, clerk of the school commissioners, and is required to attend to all communications received from the superintendent, for the commissioners. There are also appointed by the town, annually, three inspectors of common schools, whose duty it is to examine all teachers for the town, and give certificates. They are also required to visit the schools at least once in each year. The taxable inhabitants of the district, by a majority, designate the site for the school-house, vote a tax for building the house, and appoint the district officers, consisting of three trustees, a clerk, and collector; the trustees assess the tax, have the custody of the school-house, and employ the teachers, and pay them the public money, and collect the residue of the teachers' wages from the patrons of the school.

"The county treasurers and the county clerks are the organs through which the money is transmitted to the towns, and the school reports received from them. There is an appeal to the town commissioners from certain acts of the trustees, &c.; and an appeal to the superintendent from certain acts of the commissioners, &c.

"This State distributes annually 100,000 dollars, which is about twenty-five cents to each scholar between five and sixteen. These twenty-five cents go out, coupled with such conditions as to ensure the application of at least three times its amount to the same object: that is, the town makes it fifty cents, and the necessary expenditures by the inhabitants of the district, if they restrict themselves to a bare compliance with the law, must be at least fifty cents more. It is thus seen that by this feature in our school system, 100,000 dollars ap-

portioned from the state treasury, are made to perform the office, or at least, to ensure the application of 400,000 annually, to the use of common schools."

The fund referred to in this communication was begun in 1805, and is formed by the sale of land appropriated by the State to the uses of education. It amounts now to 1,700,000 dollars, and yields an income of more than 100,000 dollars per annum. By the provision of the constitution, all the unappropriated lands belonging to the State are granted to it; and these are computed to amount to upwards of 869,000 acres. While this fund was growing, the State made graduated votes annually, so as to have 100,000 dollars disposable for this object.

One great excellency of the plan is, that it does just enough to excite and encourage public effort. While the State employs 100,000 dollars, it is so employed as to ensure the application to the proposed object of no less than 400,000. Again, the 100,000 so applied is felt to be a public fund, in which every citizen has an equal interest; but if he does not do his part, he forfeits his share in this fund, and it goes to enrich some other township. Thus the indifference natural to many is overcome by pique on the one hand, and self-interest on the other. The various districts are not only empowered to tax themselves; they are tempted by the strongest inducements to do it.

Another equally wise arrangement for infusing and sustaining vigour throughout the whole economy is, that an annual and correct report is made imperative; so that, if in any year the school is not reported, it is not assisted. Of course, this insures the discharge of a duty which, in other circumstances, is usually found to fail. In Massachusetts the report is expected, but it is optional; and therefore the returns are very uncertain and imperfect; while in New York, out of 8,600 schools, returns were made on 8,164. Those who know from experience, that the great difficulty in working even a good plan is to sustain its original vigour, will at once appreciate this provision as adapted to master this difficulty.

Another principle equally wise, is, that the State never *begins* the work of erecting a school. It requires the citizens to do it, and it will lend them its aid. It gives them power, in the first place, to tax themselves for the purpose. Then, it requires that, before they can participate in the common fund, they shall have given evidence of their interest in the object, by having built a school-house, and having organized a school, under a legally authorized teacher, at least three months. This again shows great acquaintance with human nature. I need not remark on it. The bird we nurse is the bird we love. The masterly hand of De Witt Clinton must have assisted to mould these plans!

Now for the results. Notwithstanding the figures which I have already submitted to your observation, I think you will regard them as surprising. By the official returns for the year 1832, and which have unusual claims to accuracy, the following interesting particulars are obtained:—

DISTRICTS, CHILDREN, &c.

Cities, towns, and wards, in the fifty-five counties of New York...	811
Organized school districts, computed at.....	9,600
Number of children from five to sixteen years of age, December 30, 1831.....	508,878
Number of children at school in the year 1832.....	494,959

Since the year 1827, returns have been made annually from every town; and in 1832, returns were made from 8,941 districts, in which schools were open, on an average, eight months in twelve; and the number of schools in operation was computed at 9,270.

EXPENDITURE FOR COMMON SCHOOLS IN 1832.

	Dollars. Cts.
Sum paid out of the State Treasury (income of the Fund).....	100,000 00
Sum raised by a tax on the people of the State.....	188,384 53
Sum derived from local funds.....	17,198 25
Total of public monies distributed by Commissioners.....	305,582 78
Additional sum raised in the several districts.....	358,320 17
	663,902 95
Of this there was raised by a special tax for building school-houses in the city of New York, about.....	60,000 00
Total sum paid for teachers' wages.....	603,902 95

The amount paid for teachers' wages is computed at only about one half of the expense annually incurred for the support of common schools.

	Dollars.	Cts.
Estimated value of 9,270 school-houses (those in the city of New York being computed at 200,000 dollars) 2,040,000 dollars, the annual interest of which at six per cent. is	122,400	00
Fuel for 9,270 school-houses, at 10 dollars each	92,700	00
Expense of books for 494,959 scholars, at 50 cents each	247,479	50
Total	462,579	50
To this add (see above)	663,902	95
Total expenditure for common schools in 1832	1,126,482	15

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE RETURNS OF COMMON SCHOOLS, FROM 1816 TO 1833.

The Year in which the Report was made to the Legislature.	No. of Towns from which the Returns were made.	Whole No. of School Districts in the said Towns.	No. of School Districts from which Returns were received.	Amount of Public Money received in said Towns.	Amount paid for Teachers' wages in the Districts over and above Public Money.	No. of Children taught in the school Districts making Returns.	No. of Children between five and fifteen years of age, residing in those Districts.	Proportion of the No. of Children taught to the No. of Children reported, between the ages of five and fifteen or sixteen years.
				Dollars. Cts.	Dollars. Cts.			
1816	338	2,755	2,631	55,720 98	.....	140,106	176,449	11 to 15
1817	355	3,713	2,873	64,834 88	.....	170,385	198,440	6 to 7
1818	374	3,264	3,238	73,235 42	.....	183,253	218,969	5 to 6
1819	402	4,614	3,844	93,010 54	.....	210,316	235,871	8 to 9
1820	515	5,763	5,118	117,151 07	.....	271,877	302,703	9 to 10
1821	545	6,332	5,489	146,418 08	.....	304,559	317,633	24 to 25
1822	611	6,659	5,882	157,195 04	.....	332,979	339,258	42 to 43
1823	649	7,051	6,255	173,420 60	.....	351,173	357,029	44 to 45
1824	656	7,382	6,705	182,820 25	.....	377,034	373,208	94 to 93
1825	698	7,642	6,876	182,741 61	.....	402,940	383,500	101 to 96
1826	700	7,773	7,117	182,790 09	.....	425,586	395,586	100 to 93
1827	721	8,114	7,550	185,720 46	.....	431,601	411,256	21 to 20
1828	742	8,208	7,806	222,995 77	.....	441,856	419,216	26 to 91
1829	757	8,609	8,164	232,343 21	.....	468,205	449,113	25 to 24
1830	773	8,872	8,292	214,840 11	297,018 44	480,041	468,257	40 to 41
1831	785	9,063	8,631	238,641 36	346,807 20	499,424	497,503	250 to249
1832	703	9,339	8,841	244,998 85	374,001 54	507,105	509,967	
1833	811	9,600	8,941	305,582 78	358,320 17	494,959	508,878	

It appears, then, that in sixteen years, the number of organized school districts has increased from 2,755 to 9,600, making an addition, in sixteen years, of 6,845;

while the scholars have advanced from 140,106 to 494,959, making an addition, in the same time, of 354,853! Take another view of these statements. The number of persons in the State between the age of five and sixteen is 508,878; but the number at school is 494,959; leaving only 13,919 of this age not actually at school; and at least this number may be embraced by those who are between fourteen and sixteen, and who may have left school for secular pursuits! Again, the entire population of this State, in 1830, was 1,918,608; so that we have ONE FOURTH of the people at school!

What are we to say to these facts? They are marvellous in themselves; but consider them in connexion with a newly settled people, and spread over a vast territory, and what are they? Then compare them with States which have been settled for ages, and which boast of civilization, letters, and refinement, and what are they? New York has *one in four* of her whole population at school; but Scotland has only *one in ten;* England only *one in twelve;* Wales only *one in twenty.* While France, the very pink of refinement, has four millions of children untaught, and half her entire population unable to read, write, and cipher! Europe has nothing, except it be in Prussia, that will compare with the state of things we are now contemplating without injury. It may be well, if what she suffers by the comparison may induce her, though late, to ask for a remedy.

I have remarked, and would, in candour, repeat, that this is the best instance to be found in the middle states. Some of them have been backward in the race of improvement; but they are all now moving with accelerated steps; and the example of New York necessarily acts on them with great power. Pennsylvania, perhaps, for its extent and early advantages, is most overshadowed by popular ignorance. Good provision was made by the early settlers, as might be expected, for universal education; but this provision was not enlarged as the people multiplied and spread. The heart of the state was settled chiefly by Germans, who had little educa-

tion, and little value for it; and the legislature did nothing to overcome their phlegm, till at length it was in danger of being disabled from doing any thing by the prevalence of cherished ignorance. Both people and government are now awake to the evil, and have arisen to wipe away the reproach. An act for the general education of the people, by common schools, was passed last year. To give effect to this act, they have a fund, which, by successive accumulations, now amounts to nearly two millions of dollars. The platform adopted resembles that of New York; and in ten years, the results may be as striking. It has, indeed, lost the start of New York by past negligence; but it may still have the honour of generously emulating a noble example.

But you are ready to inquire after the state of education in the West. Happily there is no difficulty in meeting this inquiry. The older states were left to act for themselves on this subject; and many of the first efforts arose from liberal donations on the part of individuals; of course, the movement was neither general nor simultaneous. But the Congress has interfered with the new States, and provided, at their settlement, for universal education. Every new township is to be divided into thirty-six sections; each section being a mile square, or 640 acres. One of these sections, that is, a thirty-sixth of the township, is appropriated to schools. So that the existence of a fund for education is identical with the settlement of every township; and as the town grows in consideration, so the fund rises in value. As soon as this fund reaches a given amount, it is employed; and it is made available for those parishes or townships which are willing to rate themselves to a required proportion of the total expenses. The system comes into action at a very early period of a settlement; and until it can, its resources are accumulating and condensing, in readiness for the future. Throughout the State of Ohio, for instance, which was a desert forty years ago, and is settling now, the school system is in full play; and it promises, in a few years, to equal any

thing of which New York itself can boast. The land appropriated to the use of public schools, in the new States on the east of the Mississippi, amounts to 8,000,000 of acres, and the appropriations on the west of that river, on the same principle, will be far more prodigious!

Of course, these statements are to be understood to apply only to the *common schools*. They do not embrace, with the exception of Boston, which I introduced for the sake of illustration, the superior public school, nor the academy, which is usually of a private character, and which abounds as the States advance. Nor do they include the Sunday schools, which impart religious instruction to nearly a million of persons, as most of these get their general education at the common schools.

The extraordinary success which has attended this system may be ascribed to such causes as the following, and which may, perhaps, have partly suggested themselves already to the mind.

1. Usually, the Legislature has been taught not to interfere with the subject *more than is necessary*. The work should, at all events, be done; but the maxim of a wise government will be, *So that it is done, the more the people do, and the less it does, the better.* What it does, should be rather to *create public sentiment*, than any thing else; where that is, nothing more is required. There should be great jealousy of reliance on funds, where they exist; if danger for the future arise, it would be from this source.

2. All *sectarian distinctions* are annihilated, or rather they have never existed. Religious animosities and apprehensions, which have always been the great impediment to any system of general education, are unknown.

3. *Civil distinctions* are blended and harmonized. The common or public school is usually the very best of its kind that is accessible to the people of a district; and hence the more wealthy citizen covets its advantages for his child equally with the poorer; and the cir-

cumstance of his child attending it, and of his taking an interest in it, has again the tendency of preserving its character, and of raising it as society is rising around it. Nothing can be conceived to contribute more directly to the union and harmony of the several gradations of society, than an arrangement for thus bringing the richer and poorer together during the period of childhood. When it can be done without *injury*, it is always done with high advantage to the commonwealth.

4. Then, the *sense of civil equality*, which pervades all classes, undoubtedly is a great auxiliary to this success. Every man feels that, as a citizen, he is equal to every other man; but if he took no interest in the public school, he would forfeit some of his rights as a citizen; and if his child did not claim its benefits, he would not compare with the child of his neighbour; so that, personally and relatively, he would sink from his equality, and be ashamed to meet those who had become more to him than his fellows.

Certainly, in dismissing this head of observation, I might criticise the system; and, seizing on instances in which it is yet in perfect development, I might adduce defect and fault as an abatement on its excellency. But, in fact, speaking of it as a whole, and judging it impartially, I know no fault of general importance, except it be, that the remuneration to the teachers has mostly been too low. There is, in every thing, a stubborn connexion between price and quality; and where all sorts of ordinary labour find a liberal reward, it is indispensable that the teacher should be paid in proportion, or few will offer themselves for that important vocation; and those few will commonly be feeble and unfurnished. The public attention is directed to this subject; and, when fairly under notice, it will be dealt with in the manly and decided manner usual to this people.

If complaint and regret were to be blended with a subject so capable of inspiring admiration, it must arise from a reference to the Slave States. There, the whites

have the means of education; but they are neither so plentiful nor so good as in the Free States. And here are two millions of human beings, who are shut out from the unutterable benefits of education; while their condition is made the darker and more rueful, by the light and intelligence which are all around them.

LETTER XL

My dear Friend,

As you expressed an earnest desire to be fully informed on the subject of education, I have been more particular than I at first intended. For the same reason I will yet crave your attention to a few remarks, before it is finally dismissed.

The class of schools receiving usually the appellative of Academy, but sometimes the finer name of High School, Institute, and Gymnasium, is meant to supply an order of education superior to that of the common schools. They are nearly in every case the creation of individual or social effort; and are designed to finish the education of the schools, when more is sought than they supply; or to meet the wishes of such parents as, from various motives, choose wholly to decline the aid of the common school, in favour of more private and select tuition.

Such as are provided for the reception of male pupils bear so strong an affinity to the High School of Boston, which I have described, in their method and advantages, that it would not be desirable, perhaps, to multiply instances. But the female academies here are still so much of a peculiarity, and have excited so much notice at home, that it will doubtless be grateful to you to be informed of them with some distinction and certainty. I have seen many of them; and from what you know of

my habits on this interesting subject, you will believe that I have not been inattentive to their economy. Let me furnish you with one or two references, as examples of the class.

The Ipswich Female Seminary, of which you have heard, is rather an academy for training teachers, than for lower purposes. It receives its pupils between the ages of fourteen and twenty. It was instituted in the year 1824, on the principle of subscriptions; and is managed by trustees. It owes most of its reputation to Mrs. Grant, the principal; a lady endowed, in an unusual degree, to take charge of such an institution with honour to herself, and the highest advantage to the community. The arrangements of study are as follows:—

PRIMARY STUDIES.

Vocal music, reading, linear drawing, composition, botany, geology, philosophy of natural history, modern geography, arithmetic through interest and proportion, first book in Euclid's Geometry, History of the United States, English Grammar, Watts on the Mind, Physiology of the Human System, Natural Philosophy, Government of Massachusetts, and of the United States.

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS.

English Grammar, including analyzing and the study of poetry, arithmetic completed, modern and ancient geography, modern and ancient history, the second, third, and fourth books of Euclid's Geometry, mental philosophy, rhetoric, chemistry, and astronomy.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS.

Mental philosophy and some other studies reviewed, algebra, ecclesiastical history, natural theology, analogy between natural and revealed religion, evidences of Christianity, composition and education.

Reading, composition, calisthenics, vocal music, the Bible, and several of the above branches of study, will receive attention through the course. Those who are deficient in spelling and writing, will have exercises in these branches, whatever may be their other attainments.

It is desired, that, as far as practicable, young ladies before entering the seminary, should be skilful in both mental and written arithmetic, and thoroughly acquainted with geography and the history of the United States.

The efficacy of the system rests rather in the mind by which it is wrought, than in the materials of which it is composed. The persons taught are brought into close and friendly contact with the teachers; and the great effort of the instructer is not to educe right action, but to implant right and elevated principle. Every pupil is thrown back very much upon herself; she is taught to know herself; to measure her capacity, and to feel that the measure of her capacity is the measure of her duty; and that her duty has an immediate and constant relation to Him "with whom we have to do." Thus self-respect is substituted for emulation; and the fear of God for worldly and worthless considerations.

Religion is thus made to run through all the avocations of this family; and each one is made to feel that it "is the principal thing." At the commencement of the term, the young people are invited to profess themselves under religious influence. If they do so, it is taken as their voluntary act; they know that they shall be expected to walk in harmony with the principles they profess; and they meet separately once in the week for the purpose of devotional reading, conversation, and prayer. Of course the very circumstance of their known retirement, with their teacher, for such an engagement, must have a salutary influence on the remainder. Besides this, those who profess are usually the elder of the school, and they are mostly the more successful scholars and the best examples, and this is not without its influence. Those who are younger, and have not acknowledged the power of religion, are placed under their special care; and they are exhorted to use their influence as friends for the highest welfare of their juniors. The results are as you would expect, very considerable. In the course of a term it is common, as an average, for ten or twelve

pupils to adopt a profession, by soliciting to unite in the weekly devotional exercise.

When I visited this establishment there were 110 pupils; the number is commonly more, rather than less. They have, at present, no dwelling adequate to receive and board them. They are, therefore, accommodated with families in the village, two of them occupying one room. The principal is made responsible for this arrangement, and for the oversight and regulation of her charge at all times.

I took notes of one day's exercise; and you may, perhaps, desire to see it. It runs thus:—Rise a quarter before five. The chamber arranged. Half an hour to each of the two pupils in retirement. Half-past six, breakfast; recess of ten minutes; silent study till a quarter to eight. Eight, attend school; devotional exercises; recess, ten minutes; assemble; general instruction. Half-past nine, singing and gymnastics. Ten, recitations in classes. Eleven, singing and recess; recitations continued. Half-past twelve, dine; leisure till half-past one; study till a quarter past two.

At half-past two re-assemble; general business. One hour reading and writing; recess, ten minutes; recitations till a quarter to five; sectional exercises in class-rooms half an hour; assemble; close in prayer. Half-past five, tea; recreation. Half-past seven, half an hour to each in room; study till nine; retire.

Of the female academies, for the ordinary period of education, there is perhaps none that so fully merits attention as the institution at Albany. It is in a flourishing condition, and has recently erected a noble edifice for its accommodation. This erection supplies sixteen apartments as class and lecture-rooms, and is faced by a beautiful portico of the Ionic order, copied from the temple on the *Ilissus*.

The Institution is divided into six departments, exclusive of the classes composed of those scholars from each of the higher departments, who are pursuing the

study of the French and Spanish languages, natural history, chemistry, and botany.

In the Sixth Department, the rudiments of education are commenced. The books used are, Worcester's Primer of the English Language, Webster's Spelling Book, the Boston Class book, Leavitt's Easy Lessons, the New Testament, Parley's Geography, Olney's Geography, Emerson's First Part, and Colburn's First Lessons through the sixth section. This department is furnished with Holbrook's apparatus for primary schools.

In the Fifth Department, regular instruction in writing commenced, Colburn's Lessons and Olney's Geography concluded, Smith's Intellectual and Practical Grammar, Irving's Catechisms of the History of various Nations, and Trimmer's Elements of Natural History. As an exercise in the definition and use of words, and the structure of language, the pupils are daily required to incorporate in sentences, to be written by them, words given to them by their teachers.

In the Fourth Department, the studies of the Fifth reviewed; the books used are, the Malte Brun Geography, by Goodrich, Worcester's General History and Chart, Shimeall's Scripture History and Biblical Literature and Chart. In this department, Colburn's Sequel commenced; exercises in composition in the journal and letter form.

In the Third Department, Colburn's Sequel and Worcester's General History concluded, and the other studies of the Fourth reviewed. The books used are, History of the United States, Ancient Geography, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome. In this department, Blake's Natural Philosophy commenced, and composition continued in the journal, letter, and descriptive form.

In the Second Department, Goodrich's Histories of Greece and Rome, Ancient Geography, Blake's Natural Philosophy, concluded, and the other studies of the Third reviewed: Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Ancient and Modern Geography, with construction of Maps,

Ryan's Astronomy, Robinson's History of England, Beck's Chemistry, Watts on the Mind, Newman's Rhetoric, Colburn's Algebra, and Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, composition in written essays.

In the First department, the studies of the Second and Third continued as exercises; Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Alexander's Evidences of Christianity, Paley's Natural Theology, Arnott's Natural Philosophy, first and second volumes, Simpson's Euclid, Logic, Guy's Astronomy, Bigelow's Technology, Schlegel's History of Literature, Constitutional Law, Legendre's Geometry, select parts of the English Classics, Kames' Elements of Criticism, Butler's Analogy, first part, Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science, linear drawing. In this department, critical attention is paid to composition, in which there are frequent exercises.

In addition to the recitations in the books above specified, the scholars in each department are daily exercised in orthography, reading, parsing, and writing.

This course of instruction is administered by a principal and a male assistant, and eight female assistants. The French language is taught by a professor; and when sufficient classes can be formed, lectures are given in the winter terms, on experimental philosophy, in its various departments, by skilful professors. The institution is supplied with maps, charts, globes, a chemical and philosophical apparatus, and an extensive library.

There are two examinations in the year. At the close of the examination in February, the names of those who have distinguished themselves are announced; at the July examination, premiums are given, and gold medals are awarded to those who excel in mathematics and original composition. Besides this, those who have gone through the whole course with approbation, are eligible to receive a diploma bearing the seal of the institution. This is its highest honour; and it is sought by those, especially, who are qualifying to become teachers.

The charges for tuition are as follows:—For the sixth

or lowest department, three dollars per quarter; for the fifth, four; for the fourth, five; for the third, six; for the second, seven; and for the first, eight.

The success of this establishment has arisen from the excellency of its methods, and the efficiency and fidelity with which they have been executed. Excellent as the education is, it is evident that the useful is regarded much more than the ornamental. And it is this that chiefly tries the power and aptitudes of the teacher. A few accomplishments may be thrown over the character almost at any time, and at no price, (although with us they are, in a literal sense, dearly bought;) but to awaken the intellect, to teach the mind to think, the will to resolve, to nourish and train all the nascent faculties with their appropriate aliment, that is the labour, that is the difficulty.

The method of communication between the teacher and the pupil here, as in other cases, which I have noticed, is chiefly by recitation. Great care is taken not to use the text book as a thing to be stored away in the memory, but as a guide to direct inquiry and investigation. In the one case, the mind is called into vigorous and wholesome exercise; on the other, it is burdened with a weight that destroys its elasticity, and prevents its growth. Much as this simple principle commends itself to us in theory, it is seldom brought into practice. This is still the great deficiency in our schools. The ordinary teacher, as by far the easier task, will content himself with loading the memory; while the man who is truly qualified for his work, will seek to train and strengthen the superior faculties. It is due to America to say, that great watchfulness is employed against this evil, and that many examples are supplied of its having been overcome. Perhaps nothing will contribute more to this, with them and with us, than to erect the art of teaching into a *fourth profession*, and to begin the work of education systematically, with *teaching the teachers*.

I must finally observe, that this Institution, also, owes much of its success to its decidedly religious character.

Religion, without sectarian and denominational distinctions, pervades its instructions. The analysis of natural science and revealed science, conduct to one conclusion; and they are made to illustrate and support each other. If this is profitable to just attainment in knowledge, as it saves us from distorted and half-formed conceptions of the sublimer subjects, it is yet more beneficial to character, as it gives sobriety to the mind, and elevates the spirit with devout affections.

I must not omit to say, that this admirable establishment is raised and supported by subscription; and it corresponds exceedingly, with the single difference of sex, to our modern Proprietary or Grammar School. Why should not our daughters, equally with our sons, possess the advantages which these institutions, when well conducted, so readily supply?

I think you cannot fail, my dear friend, to survey this brief report on the subject of education, whether collegiate or common, with wonder and admiration. And yet we have been told, in the face of all this evidence, with petulance and pride, that the Americans have no literature, and are not a literary people. Not literary! and yet they have done more for letters than any people ever did in similar circumstances. Not literary! and yet they have made more extensive grants in favour of universal education than any other country. Not literary! and yet not only the common school, but the academy and the college, are travelling over the breadth of the land; and are sometimes found located in the desert, in anticipation of a race that shall be born. Not literary! and yet, in the more settled States, a fourth part of the people are at school; and in the State of New York alone, apart from all private seminaries, there are 9,600 schools, sustained at a yearly expense of 1,126,482 dollars! Not literary! and yet there are, in this new country, FIFTEEN UNIVERSITIES; FORTY-SIX COLLEGES; TWENTY-ONE medical schools; and TWENTY-ONE theological! Not literary! and yet they circulate SEVEN HUNDRED and FIFTY MILLIONS of NEWSPAPERS A YEAR, this is TWENTY-

FIVE to our ONE; and all our best books commonly run through more and larger editions there than they do at home.

They have no literature, indeed! The fact is, they have all the literature that is possible to their age and circumstances; and as these advance, they will assuredly advance in the more abstruse and abstract sciences, till it shall be a bold thing for any to call themselves their peers. Their fidelity for the past is their security for the future. Meantime, are not Newton and Locke, Bacon and Shakspeare, as much theirs as they are ours? Would it be wisdom, on their part, to repudiate them, even if they had not an equal claim to them? Would it be wisdom in us to reproach them with tastes which do them honour, and to endeavour to separate them from community in our common republic of letters, which more than any thing may make two great nations, that are one in affinity, one in fact? For my own part, I know of nothing more truly sublime than to see this people in the very infancy of their national existence, put forth such Herculean energy for the diffusion of universal knowledge and universal virtue! But prejudice has neither eyes nor ears!

LETTER XLI.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I REGRET that I must now turn to other and very different subjects. In a general notice of this country, especially if that notice profess to be of a moral and religious character, it is impossible to pass in silence the condition of the Indian and the African. And it is just as impossible to notice the relative position of these two classes of the people, without strong, but just, disapprobation. But the claims of our common humanity are

the highest earthly claims we know; and they must not be blinked, or disregarded.

Slavery is, at the present time, the question of questions in America. You will be glad to learn that it is so, since extended discussion cannot fail to humanize opinion, and to bring on a happy consummation. If I glance at the state of the slave, the means used in his favour, and the prospects of a successful issue in the use of such means, you will, perhaps, be sufficiently informed on this most interesting subject.

In referring to the condition of the slave in this country, it may be well to observe both on his *legal* and *actual* state. Although the different Slave States have various laws, they are essentially the same; and there is, therefore, not much difficulty in extracting the spirit and substance of the whole code of bondage. In the eye of the law, then—

Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

The labour of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labour, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the 'human brute;' and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.

The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living or deceased master. Sold at auction, 'either individually, or in lots, to suit the purchaser,' he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong, in point of law, to their masters.

Neither a slave, nor free coloured person, can be a wit-

ness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit; but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave or free coloured man, even in cases affecting life.

The slave may be punished at his master's discretion —without trial—without any means of legal redress,— whether his offence be real, or imaginary ; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons he may choose to appoint.

The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances ; his only safety consists in the fact, that his owner may bring suit, and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labour.

Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

The slave is deemed unworthy of protection in his domestic relations.

The slave is denied the means of knowledge and improvement.

The slave is denied the justice awarded to the white.

There is a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave ; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished, in the slave, with death.

This, then, is the law, or rather the injustice of the case, under legal sanctions. But the law may be a dead letter, and the people to whom it relates may be in the comparative enjoyment of liberty and happiness. I sincerely wish this could be predicated of this case; but, in many respects, the actual condition of the coloured population is worse than the law contemplates ; and severe and despotic as it is, it knows no relaxation, except what may spring from individual charity ; and where slavery is found, charity does not often dwell. Every variation in the law itself has been against the slave,

and the execution has been usually in excess rather than otherwise. The small remnant of social liberty which these people had, has been dreaded; and it has therefore been abridged. Education has been felt to be incompatible with slavery, and it has been refused. To the honour of religion, it has been open to the same objections; and the slaves must not meet to rest their griefs on God their Maker, unless a white man will condescend to be present and watch their conduct. One of the highest encomiums ever offered to religion, was pronounced by the West India planters, when they declared that Christianity and slavery could not exist together. The American planters are adopting the same declaration; and they are both right—indisputably right. But who could ever have supposed that men, with such an admission on their lips, should commit themselves to the dreadful alternative of sustaining slavery at the expense of Christianity?

Of course, where such law exists, and where there is a disposition to exceed rather than to relax, the daily and hourly enormities must be unspeakable. The domestic slaves, indeed, often meet with kind treatment, and they as often repay it by sincere attachment. I witnessed many such instances with unmixed pleasure, and was struck to perceive how capable the slave was of generous sentiment, where it had the least place for action. This was often pleaded in mitigation of the system there, as it has been here. It might be very well, if the subject were a mere matter of treatment; but it is not. It is a question of right and wrong, and not a question of more or less. The vice of the system is, that it gives to the white man a power which no man is competent to possess, and it deprives the slave of a right which makes him less than man to surrender. To plead that the slave is in better condition because I hold him in bonds, matches, in effrontery, though not in guilt, the man who justifies a robbery he has committed on your person, by maintaining that your property will be safer in his pocket than in your own!

So far as treatment has to do with the actual state of the African, I fear, on a large scale, little can be said in its favour, while much may be truly stated of a most appalling character. Many of the instances of kind management which fall under notice, are to be ascribed to persons who are decidedly unfriendly to slavery, and who gladly seek to lighten the chains which, for the present, they cannot break. Many more, again, arise from the consideration prudently given to them as property; they are, to the owner, a portion of his live stock, perhaps the whole of it; and he has the same reasons to preserve them that influence him in the care of his oxen or horses. But, too generally, prudential motive is insufficient to secure to the slave the attention which is shown by a merciful man to his cattle. The master does not fear his cattle, but he does fear his slave; and fear is always cruel. He is satisfied of his right of property in the one case; his conscience forbids that he should be wholly satisfied in the other; and the uneasiness which attends on conscious wrong, stings him, and converts him, however reluctantly, into an oppressor.

This feature, in the present condition of the slave, has become painfully prominent. Sixty years ago there were only about half a million of coloured people in the States; now, there are two millions and a half; and they are increasing in a greater proportion than the whites, great as that is. They have, consequently, become an object of alarm and fear. Instead of meliorating their circumstances, and medicating their wounds, their bonds are drawn closer, and made well nigh insufferable.

The field slave, of course, is the more exposed to bad treatment; and though much protection is now brought to his aid by the force of public opinion, there is no doubt that he is mostly submitted to hardships which, if they are proper to brutes, disgrace alike the man who inflicts, and the man who suffers them. In the South, this is especially the case; and it arises naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed. They are

bought and sold as cattle; they do the work of cattle; they are provided for as cattle till the overseer and owner come to think that they are cattle and no more. As far as thought is the parent of action, I am persuaded this is very commonly the case; and even where thought takes a more settled and philosophical form, instances will sometimes occur. I never thought it possible, that I should meet with a man of education and property, who would seriously argue that his slave, if not a brute, was, at least, not of the human species; but I have found such persons in this country, as, without doubt, I should in the West Indies, and who have invited me to formal discussion on the subject.

In harmony with this, I was told confidentially, and from excellent authority, that recently, at a meeting of planters in South Carolina, the question was seriously discussed, Whether the slave is more profitable to the owner, if well fed, well clothed, and worked lightly, or if made the most of at once, and exhausted in some eight years. The decision was in favour of the last alternative. That decision will perhaps make many shudder. But, to my mind, this is not the chief evil. The greater and original evil is considering the *slave as property;* if he is only property, and my property, then I have some right to ask, how I may make that property most available.

But the crying aggravation of slavery, in the United States, arises from the *internal traffic.* It is in the South, as you know, that cotton, rice, and sugar, are raised; and it is in this service that slave labour is found to be indispensable. Slaves are, therefore, accumulating in these parts, and a much higher price is given for them there than elsewhere. This, of course, is a great temptation to the cupidity of many; and the vilest means are eventually adopted to satisfy it. Slaves are regularly bred in some States, as cattle for the southern market. Besides this, the men who pursue this nefarious traffic have acquired wealth, and use it extensively to acquire more. They have secret agents spread over the States where the slave is less gainful, to avail themselves of all

opportunities of accomplishing their ends. They seek to trepan the free coloured man, and by throwing the proof of his freedom upon him, find him off his guard, and often succeed against him. They especially seek to buy up, as for local and domestic use, all the slaves that are at different places to be disposed of; and when the unhappy beings are once in their power, they disappear in the night, and are lost to their birth-place and connexions for ever. Most of the sales and the kidnapping that arise have reference to the southern market; and are too commonly conducted on false and foul pretences. It is supposed that not less than ten thousand slaves are by these means procured for the demands of the South.

From the mysteriousness of these disappearances, from the impossibility of hearing any more of the parties so abstracted from society, and from the known severity of the heat and labour in the South, this domestic slave-trade is the terror of the African, and it makes slavery, which would otherwise wear a milder aspect, twice cursed.

A case in illustration occurred in a certain town of Virginia, that I visited, which had created a sensation of pity and indignation through the whole western portion of that state. A gentleman sold a female slave. The party professing to buy not being prepared to make the necessary payments, the slave was to be resold. A concealed agent of the trade bought her and her two children, as for his own service, where her husband, also a slave, in the town, might visit her and them. Both the husband and wife suspected that she would be privately sent away. The husband, in their common agony, offered to be sold, that he might go with her. This was declined. He resolved on the last effort, of assisting her to escape. That he might lay suspicion asleep, he went to take leave of her and his children, and appeared to resign himself to the event. This movement had its desired effect; suspicion was withdrawn both from him and his wife; and he succeeded in emancipating them. Still, what was to be done with his treasure, now he

had obtained it? Flight was impossible; and nothing remained but concealment. And concealment seemed hopeless, for no place would be left unsearched, and punishment would fall on the party who should give them shelter. However, they were missing; and they were sought for diligently, but not found. Some months afterwards it was casually observed that the floor under a slave's bed (the sister of the man) looked dirty and greasy. A board was taken up; and there lay the mother and her children on the clay, and in an excavation of three feet by five! It is averred, that they had been there in a cold and enclosed space, hardly large enough for their coffin (buried alive there) for SIX MONTHS!

This is not all. The agent was *only provoked* by this circumstance! He demanded the woman; and though every one was clamorous to redeem her, and retain her to her husband, he would not sell! she was taken to his slave-pen, and has disappeared! The man—most miserable man!—still exists in the town.

Let us attend to other testimony on this subject, chiefly American, and I believe, of unquestioned truth.

"Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, cow-skins, and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws permit the traffic, and it is suffered."—*Niles' Register*, vol. xxxv. p. 4.

"Dr. Torrey says, whole families of free coloured people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged, and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds."—*Child's Appeal*, p. 31.

"Advertisements are very common, in which a mother and her children are offered either in a lot, or separately, as may suit the purchaser. In one of these advertisements, I observed it stated, that the youngest child was about a year old."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The captives are driven by the whip, through toilsome journeys, under a burning sun; their limbs fettered; with nothing before them but the prospect of toil more severe than that to which they have been accustomed."—*Idem*, p. 33.

"The trade is till briskly carried on in Africa, and new slaves are smuggled into these States, through the Spanish colonies. A very extensive internal slave trade is carried on in this country. The breeding of negroes for the markets, in other States (Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri,) is a very lucrative branch of business. Whole coffles of them, chained and manacled, are driven through our capital, on their way to auction."—*Idem*, p. 30.

"A slave being missing, several planters united in a negro hunt, as it is called. They set out with dogs, guns, and horses, as they would chase a tiger. The poor fellow, being discovered, took refuge in a tree, where he was deliberately shot by his pursuers."—*Idem*, p. 24.

"A planter had occasion to send a female slave some distance on an errand. She did not return so soon as he expected, and he grew angry. At last he gave orders that she should be severely whipped when she came back. When the poor creature arrived, she pleaded for mercy, saying she had been so very ill, that she was obliged to rest in the fields; but she was ordered to receive another dozen of lashes, for having had the impudence to speak. She died at the whipping-post; nor did she perish alone; a new-born babe died with her."—*Idem*, p. 25.

"A few days since I attended a sale, which exhibited slavery in all its sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table,—the physical proportions examined,—their defects and beauties noted. 'A prime lot; here they go!' There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dared not speak; and the mother pressing her

infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, 'I can't leff my children! I won't leff my children!' but on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand I saw a man, apparently as white as myself, exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.

"At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes, handcuffed and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell,—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and the child, were alike torn asunder for ever! It was a living death;—they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest."—*Stuart.*

Such are the evils consequent on slavery, and especially on a domestic slave trade. And these enormities are not put down invidiously. The worst evils are not proper to persons, so much as they are common to the *system.* Some, in dealing with it, may be severe, and some lenient; but the system is accursed, and only accursed; and if allowed to exist, would quickly produce the same results in England and France as it does in America, and did in the West Indies. If it finds man benevolent, it makes him cruel. It is, by a wise and righteous arrangement of Providence, a greater curse to the oppressor than to the oppressed; though we judge not so. We see the whip, we hear the lash, and we instantly give our tears to the man who is made less than human; but we are not so quick to perceive and stand aghast at that inward and moral desolation, which has spread itself over the prosperous oppressor, and has withered up the sense of justice, compassion, and generosity. It is ordained, *that he who deals in man, shall become less than man.*

LETTER XLII.

My dear Friend,

It would be a libel on the people of America to say, that they, that is, the portion of the States best entitled, by numbers, intelligence, and wealth, to receive that denomination, have contentedly participated in this state of things, or have even remained indifferent to it. All the northern States have entirely washed their hands of slavery and the slave trade; and the middle States are either free, or will quickly be so. The religious of every name and every place are prepared to admit and deplore the evil of slavery in itself; and are expressing an anxious desire for any remedy that might be effectual. Many, very many, with whom I met, would willingly have released their slaves, but the law requires that in such case they should leave the State; and this would mostly be not to improve their condition, but to banish them from their home, and make them miserable outcasts. What they cannot for the present remove, they are studious to mitigate; and I have never seen kinder attentions paid to any domestics than by such persons to their slaves. In defiance of the infamous laws, making it criminal for the slave to be taught to read, and difficult to assemble for an act of worship, they are instructed, and they are assisted to worship God.

The more ostensible means for their relief, which have been created by the force of public opinion, are to be found in the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. The Colonization Society is the elder of the two, and originated in a pure motive of compassion for the slave. It proposes to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa, and by this means to confer a benefit on a country which has been wasted by our crimes, and to open a channel to the slaveholder to give freedom to his slaves. Its founders hoped that the movement thus

made, while it brought the direct blessing of liberty to many, would indirectly, and without stimulating the prejudices of the planter, familiarize the common mind with the inherent evils of slavery, and thus contribute to ultimate emancipation. For many years this was the best and the only remedy offered to public attention, and the benevolent, of course, took hold of it; and it has at present the concurrence of New England, and of the intelligent and influential in most places.

The Anti-Slavery Society is of later formation. Without hesitation or condition, it demands immediate and complete abolition; and in doing this, it does not scruple to pit itself against the older Society, and to denounce it as standing in its way, and as favourable to the perpetuation of slavery. This, as you may expect, has brought the two Societies into a state of violent collision.—Neither party has kept its temper; much personal abuse, and bitter vituperation, have been emitted; and both, in the heat of party conflict, have been in danger of losing sight of the slave, and affording a humiliating, but acceptable spectacle to the slaveholder.

Apart from these animosities, you seek an unprejudiced judgment on these societies. You shall at least have an honest opinion. The Colonization Society may have been well as a harbinger of something better; but it was never equal to the object of emancipation, and is now below the spirit and demands of the day. 1. It does not lay hold sufficiently on the public mind. What it proposes to do is indirect, and indefinite, and complicate; and bears no proportion to the pressure and extent of the evil with which it professes to deal. 2. It has lost a great measure of public confidence. Its founders and original friends are of unimpeached integrity; but it has now many devoted slaveholders among its chief supporters, and this awakens suspicion. Some of its agents, acting in difficult circumstances, and wanting due discretion, to say the least, have commended it in the North, as an Anti-Slavery Society; while others, in the South, have laboured to show, that it does not disturb

slave property, and that its tendency is to secure and perpetuate it; and this has confirmed suspicion in distrust. The best friends of the Society and the slave have protested against these conflicting and unworthy statements; but they have not been able to revive confidence. Then, 3. as a *remedy* for slavery, it must be placed amongst the grossest of all delusions. In fifteen years it has transported less than three thousand persons to the African coast; while the *increase* on their numbers, in the same period, is about seven hundred thousand! By all means let the Colonization Society exist, if it will, as a Missionary Society for the benefit of Africa; but, in the name of common honesty and common sense, let it disabuse the public mind, by avowing that it does not pretend to be a *remedy* for *slavery*. 4. If this society could accomplish its object, and transport all the slaves to a foreign shore, it would inflict on America herself a most deadly wound. She wants the coloured people; she cannot do without them. She has hitherto depended, and does still depend, on the African or the Irish for every instance of consolidated labour; and she owes to the sweat of their brow a full moiety of her prosperity and wealth. If the Africans were removed to-morrow, one half of her territories would be a mere desolation. To wish to get rid of them is a mere prejudice—the most vulgar of all prejudices—the prejudice of colour. Only make them white, and America would know how to value them!

It is quite evident, then, if benevolent opinion and effort, in its improved state, was to be concentrated in favour of the slave, that some other association was indispensable. It is only to be lamented that the Anti-Slavery has shot at once as much in advance of the public mind as the older Society fell below it. By saying this, however, I would not be understood to complain of the great principle it adopts, but of the methods by which it has sought to give it predominance. Had it calmly and firmly announced, on religious grounds, that all slavery is a sin against God, as well as an offence

against society, and that as such it requires, without delay, to be abolished; and had it refused to come down from this high vantage ground, to deal in personal invective and exaggerated statement; it would have won its way, unresisted, over the whole portion of the religious and philanthropic of the community with surprising rapidity. But it has not done so. In looking to a noble issue, it has been impatient of means necessary to the end. In proposing to confer an inestimable good, it has not paused to ask, how it may be granted with the least alloy of evil. It has allowed nothing to prejudice; nothing to interest; nothing to time. It has borne on its front defiance, and not conciliation; and this not merely against slavery, but against the slaveholder. Means leading to the result, and remuneration consequent on it, instead of being considerately discussed, are peremptorily denounced. If there be any thing that has special power to shock existing prejudice, it has been called up, and placed in the foreground of the battle; it will demand amalgamation as well as emancipation. It has been resolved on getting the wedge in; but in fulfilling this resolution, it seems to have been careless, whether it should be by the butt end or the fine one.

As you might foresee, the effect has been, that mostly those who would have been its best friends, have been afraid of it; and those who were pledged, from the truest benevolence, to the Colonization Society, have received offence; while, in the slave States, its personality and want of prudence, apart from its devotion to a hated principle, has thrown back the cause for which it pleads to a lamentable distance.

However, most of these evils, I believe, have originated with a limited portion of its agency, and are, more or less, in course of correction. It has, under forbidding circumstances, made to itself a host of friends; and if even now it shall recover its backward steps, and move to its great and holy object with ordinary wisdom and temper, it will soon collect all that is liberal in mind and generous in affection in its favour.

Should its course be still repulsive and inauspicious, the cause will not be left in its hands. The public mind is in motion, and it will create some legitimate medium of action for itself. Meetings for such a purpose were held in Boston while I was there; and, subsequently, a public Convention has been held to organize a society, which shall look to the same object, but with more regard to the means by which it is to be successfully approached.

It is yet greatly to be desired, that the real friends of that object, instead of multiplying societies, could come to a common and good understanding. Union is strength; and they will yet require to carry their object, the strength of the giant and the skill of the philosopher. If the Colonization Society would renounce its pretensions to emancipation, and content itself with the work of a Missionary to bless Africa by redeemed and pious Africans, there would be an end of all heart-burnings between the institutions. If those who benevolently joined this Society, as a means of emancipation, would unite with the wisest and best men in the Anti-Slavery Society in the cause of abolition, the religious and generous energies of the nation would find a focus, from which they would fuse and dissolve every chain of every slave, and the world would be free!

You will learn from this, that, on the whole, I think hopefully of the question; and you will desire to know more exactly the considerations that give this complexion to my opinions.

I am fully disposed to admit, that the subject is attended with peculiar difficulties. The evil was brought to this people by others, and has grown up with them and their institutions. The slaves are not, as they were with us, some thousands of miles away; they are at their doors, and in the midst of them, and both parties are continually exasperated by the presence of what is disagreeable to them. The States are independent of each other, so that Massachusetts cannot control Carolina any more than France can England; and they are, in all internal affairs, independent of the General Government,

so that it cannot control them. There is, therefore, no hope of legal influence in this case. All that the Government, without the consent of the States, can do, is to afford the country the benefit of a good example; and this it should do without delay. It happens that the district of Columbia is a stronghold of slavery; but this district is under the exclusive legislation of Congress "in all cases whatsoever." This single circumstance involves the whole American people; and constitutes them, at this hour, a SLAVEHOLDING NATION. The representatives of the whole people enter the halls of Congress, and plead for the rights of man and of the world at the top of their voice; and the African lies manacled at their feet, and they have the power to declare him free, and they do not use it!

Add to this, that recently, when the supreme Government had the power, on the settlement of a new State, to determine whether it should be free or slaveholding, they resolved in favour of bondage, and the matter, it must be admitted, is somewhat discouraging.

But, although the Congress can do but little, and is backward to do what is within its orbit; and although the legal renovation of the slave State rests with itself, and it may defy extraneous dictation; there are, nevertheless, many cheering indications that America will cast away this foul reproach soon and for ever.

1. Much has already been done in this philanthropic work. New England was once deeply committed to the slave-trade, by far its worst part, if any can be worst where all is so bad; but now she abhors both it and slavery. Most of the States which are now free, were recently slaveholding; and some are still in the state of transition. What has been done, has been done with safety and advantage, and this is a powerful inducement to a just consideration of the subject. The same success and safety would attend it in every other State, if wise provisions were adopted, and the *slave-owners were willing*. In their case, as in the parallel one of the West Indies, nothing is essentially wanting to the

safety of the change, but the *decided good-will of the planters!*

2. There are several slave States that are prepared for emancipation. Of this class are, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. Maryland is resolved on it. The West of Virginia is also decided; and the East lingers only from the undue gain of the domestic trade. Kentucky is disposed to it. You will conclude, that some powerful causes are at work to produce this result. You are quite right. The most potent cause that can act on this case is working efficaciously—it is interest. Kentucky and Virginia compare themselves with Ohio; they were settled earlier, and are nearer the sources of emigration, but Ohio has left them far behind, in trade, in wealth, and in population. And the palpable reason is, that Ohio is free, and they are not. Many residents leave the slave State for the free, in apprehension or disgust; and the new settler, on every account, prefers the free State, so that all the advantage is with it and against its opposite. If a slave State hesitates for a time between the old and the new state of things, when it becomes a border State, the inconveniences are so great, and the comparison so striking, that it not only decides, but is impatient to be free; and in this way, liberty promises to travel on from State to State till they shall be all free.

3. The slaves themselves are preparing for this issue. They are so in *mind.* It is impossible for such excitement and discussion to exist in their behalf, without some vague report reaching them. They are thus taught to know that they are feared, and that there is cause for fear; and that they have friends, and that change may be expected. The impression does not work the less because it is indefinite. The amount and force of it is to be gathered in signs rather than words. To me these are unequivocal signs. They abhor Liberia and the Colonization Society. They seek with growing eagerness instruction for themselves and children. They have strong desires to assemble for separate worship as a means of common sympathy; and they are supported,

and are sometimes buoyant, by a conviction, that something will happen for their good.

They are so in *numbers*. Their increase is a most remarkable circumstance in their history. As it seems impossible to raise the Indian, so it appears impossible to diminish them. In their state of oppression and privation, to increase in a proportion greater than their oppressors, with all the aid of emigration! It reminds one of the increase of Israel in Egypt; and where would be the wrong of supposing that Providence is strengthening them, as he did Israel, to forsake the house of bondage? And observe, it is not the mere amount that is to be reckoned here, as of ten millions against two: there is especially to be noted, the accumulation of these numbers in one portion of the empire. This accumulation of the black population in the South, is still going on; while that of the whites is diminishing. Evidently this is tending to a crisis; and, in terror of it, many have already fled from the vicinity. That crisis will come, if existing causes are allowed to produce their proper effects. What determination it shall take, must depend on many contingencies; but it can hardly find and leave the slave a slave.

4. Then, finally, public sentiment is ripening to this end. It has grown surprisingly within these few years. All discussion nurtures it. Daily observation strengthens it. If the proximity of the evil may create difficulties, which we could not know, it presses the subject on the mind and the senses incessantly, and demands relief. The clanking of their chains, the piercing cries of the oppressed, "Am I not a man and a brother?"—are at their doors and in their ears, and will not suffer compassion to slumber within them. The very struggles and animosities between the two societies for their relief, and the advance which the younger has made, in principle, beyond the elder, are evidence of the gathering power of opinion, and of its determination to make to itself suitable channels of action. And, above all, the feverish anxiety which possesses those who are unwilling to

look at change, announces an inward consciousness that the change must come.

Nothing has accelerated this state of feeling so much as the recent deeds of England. When by the highest moral act our country ever performed, slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions, I could not help saying, that it was done, not merely for ourselves, but for the world. Slavery, indeed, lingers now in America; but it is impossible it should linger long. The example of Great Britain has acted on the whole people like a shock; and if no reverses attend the transition, and if their jealousies are not aroused by indiscreet interference and direct agencies from the parent land, it will continue so to act, till every free man shall resolve that every slave shall be free. And whatever may oppose the consummation, it can only retard, and not prevent it. It is a source of great alleviation to find, that, as our country first inflicted this evil on America, her late but noble example is acting with silent but amazing power for its annihilation!

Yes, the slave must go free! Slavery now has a legal existence only in America. But America is the very place, of all others, where it cannot, must not be tolerated. With her Declaration of Rights, with her love of liberty, with her sense of religion, with her professed deference for man as man, and with the example of the old world against her—which she has forsaken from its defective sense of freedom—to uphold slavery would be an act of such supreme iniquity, as, beside it, would make all common vice seem to brighten into virtue. Much evil may be; but this cannot be! What, slavery in the last home of liberty! The vilest despotism in the presence of boasted equality! The deepest oppression of man, where the rights of man are professedly most honoured! No, this cannot continue. Slavery and Liberty cannot exist together; either slavery must die, or liberty must die. Even now, the existence of slavery is a violation of the Constitution of America; and so

long as slavery remains, it exists in letter and not in fact!

The eyes of the world are now fixed on America. She will act worthy of herself, her high professions, and her distinguished privileges. She will show that the evil by which she suffers has been inflicted, and not adopted. She will repudiate it without delay; only asking the time and the means, which may secure to all parties the greatest good with the least evil. And kindred nations, and oppressed man, shall look on her from afar with admiration and delight, as to the new world of promise "wherein dwelleth righteousness!"

Besides this, there is another field of philanthropic service open to America. It is that of seeking the welfare of the aborigines of the country. They are far less thought of, at the present moment, than the oppressed African; but their claims are not inferior, nor scarcely are their wrongs. They amount to about five hundred thousand persons. They have the highest claim to the soil. It has been allowed as such both by Britain and the United States; and America, by conciliation and justice, might confer the greatest good on these interesting people; and all the good done to them, would be so much benefit brought to herself.

Yet no people have suffered more. Advantage has been taken of their ignorance and generous confidence, at various times, in every possible way. While the invader has been weak, he has allowed their claims; as he gathered force, he doubted them; and when he was confident in his strength, he practically denied them. Very recently, some flagrant instances of oppression and plunder, under the form and sanction of law, have occurred; and it was only at the eleventh hour, that the Supreme Court of the States, by a signal act of justice, reversed the acts of local government and of Congress too, and saved the nation from being committed to deeds which must have been universally condemned as flagitious and infamous.

But to tell of their wrongs would be to write a vo-

lume; and that such a one as Ezekiel was once commissioned to inscribe. Many of them rest with former generations; and the reference, either to the present or the past, is only desirable, as it may awaken compassion and dispose to justice. At least, let the existing generation seek indemnity for the past by care for the future. If their fathers may have acted beneath the influence of fear and resentment, there is now no place for the action of such passions. These people commend themselves to protection, by their weakness as well as their manliness and generosity. It is high time that they should be allowed to live in peace and security, and in the inviolable possession of their lands, their laws, their liberty. If this may not be in the United States, where can it be? Is the most solemn "Declaration" of a whole people to be nullified a SECOND TIME, and pronounced a mere legal fiction? Justice, Truth, Mercy, Religion—Earth and Heaven, demand of America that she should assure the world she is what she professes to be, BY PRESERVING THE INDIAN, AND EMANCIPATING THE AFRICAN.

LETTER XLIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is now time that I brought both my narrative and disquisitions to a close. The field, however, is so extensive, and so interesting, that only to glance at the various objects within the scope of this communication, and which demand observation, requires considerable space.

Although I have endeavoured to convey my honest and first impressions as I have passed onward, you may desire that I should yet express the general amount of these impressions, on a review of the entire subject of

remark. This is certainly what I should like in my own case; and expecting that you will make reasonable allowances for the delicacy and difficulty of reducing so many subjects, and such multifarious impressions, to a common conclusion, I will not hesitate to meet your wishes. I shall have the more readiness in attempting this, because if that conclusion should need to be qualified in any degree, the previous statements will, I trust, amply supply you with the means of independent judgment, and salutary correction.

The impression, then, left on my own mind, as the result of combined observation, is that of satisfaction and hope. When I say this, however, you must bear in remembrance what was the state of mind with which I went out to this country. My expectations were certainly not so high as many might entertain; they were certainly not so low as those of many; they were, I think, moderate; and *they have been exceeded.* Allowing, as I did, for the difficulties of a newly settled country, and for the disadvantages of emigration, the state of education, morals, and religion, was decidedly better than I expected to find it. Indeed, I have never visited a country in which I have seen them equalled. England herself painfully suffers in the comparison.

There are, undoubtedly, some points in politics, in science, and in domestic life, in which the advantage may still be with the parent country; but on the subjects in question, and which are legitimate to this inquiry, the advantage is with America. Education with us, may, in certain cases, be more refined and recondite; but it is not spread over so large a surface, and is less in the sum total; and if, as Johnson says, the state of common life is the true state of a nation, the nation must be considered to be better educated.

In morals, too, you are constrained to receive the same impression. It is impossible to compare New York with Liverpool, or Boston with Bristol, and not to be struck with the difference. It was Sabbath evening when I landed at Liverpool, but I was grieved to admit,

that at no time in New York, had open vice met my eye with such prominence, and to such a degree.

I know it has been said, as against the higher morality of this people, that their merchants are less honourable than ours. I have given some attention to this, as it is certainly an important allegation; and as I had found reason partly to give it my acquiescence. I suppose it will be easily admitted, that no mercantile interests were ever more honourably conducted than are those of Great Britain. But honour is conventional, and of slow growth; and when matured it has a tendency to self-preservation; so that a person finds with us, that he can scarcely be a merchant without being a man of honour.

To try the American merchant by such a test, may be sufficiently severe; yet he need not shrink from it. He is certainly less influenced by what is conventional; but he is, at least, equally affected by what is properly moral. I have every reason to think, that the regular and accredited merchant of the States, is as upright in his transactions, as steady to his contracts, and is governed by as high a sense of justice, as are the merchants of the old world. Still I am willing to admit, so far as it regards the New England character, that, with all its excellencies, it is liable to temptation here. It participates, in some particulars, with the Scotch character, and, like it, may require watchfulness. Those who pride themselves in their shrewdness in driving a "keen bargain," are commonly in danger of being "over keen."

Apart from this, it is allowed, that there is some cause for such an impression being hastily received in London; and it arises from the circumstances of the people. The fact is, that one half the men in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who announce themselves as merchants, are not known as such to the accredited merchants of those places. They are mostly men of desperate fortune, who have fled from their creditors in Europe, and who are seeking to establish themselves where they are

not known. Frequently they succeed: and in shaking off some of their necessities, free themselves from some of their vices; but surely it is not to be expected that they should be governed by any fine sense of honour. More commonly their bad propensities remain; and they play the rogue with more freedom, because they can do it on a larger field, and with greater safety and advantage. The very honour and integrity of which we are speaking, require that such distinctions should be allowed and appreciated.

Then the appearances in favour of religion are to their advantage. They have no law for the regulation or observance of the Sabbath, but public sentiment secures its sanctification better with them than with us. I have never seen that day observed in Bristol or Bath as it is in Boston and Philadelphia. In the large town, the people attend in larger numbers at their respective places of worship; there are more places for their accommodation; and the average size is greater with them than with us. The communicants in that country are far more numerous than in this; and you will regard this as important evidence on the subject, especially when it is known that the principle of strict communion prevails. The ministry, as a whole, is better adapted to the people and to usefulness. The spirit of regeneration animates it; and evangelical truth is more familiar to it. It is neither so rich nor so poor as with us, and is therefore more efficient. One portion of it is not degraded by the political elevation of other portions; but, as a body, it is entitled to common and equal respect, and it has decidedly more respect, and, therefore, more influence than with us.

With these visible signs in favour of religion, and with the knowledge that the Americans have far less reason to preserve appearances than ourselves, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion already suggested.

These statements are to be understood to have a special though not an exclusive application to the leading

States, which have been longest settled, and are the most populous. It would be most unreasonable to expect that the States in the far West and far South should equal them in privilege and attainment. They are rather, as a candid Episcopalian writer has allowed, to be compared with our colonies than with ourselves. Let me add, however, that we have no colonies that would not suffer by the comparison; and that their average means, as I have shown, will actually bear to be tried by what we most admire at home.

Still it is admitted that much remains to be done. All the States are capable of great improvement; and the rapid settlement taking place every where, seems to mock all past effort, and to demand that it shall be put forth on a continually expanded scale, even to exhaustion. The West especially, has almost overwhelming claims. If this empire shall retain its integrity, the West promises to become the seat of power; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise; the Papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace.

Do I, then, regard these circumstances with apprehension? No, I look on them with hope—I regard the entire exigencies of this great country with the assurance of hope. If there was a time for apprehension, that time is now past. Had the church remained as dormant and secure as she was even ten years ago, there might have been cause for alarm; but she is awake, and the people are awake. The Home Mission, the Education, and the Sunday School Societies, which have risen into such mighty and rapid action, are directing chiefly their energies to the West. Missionaries in the cause of religion and education are traversing all its regions; schools, and even colleges, are springing up amidst the stumps of the smouldering forest. The wants and

claims of the West are made to ring and reverberate over the East, and the North, and the South; and the common attention is not summoned in vain.

Then it is not merely that public attention is awakened to these growing exigencies; the people in the more settled States are strikingly prepared to benefit those that are settling. They are so by circumstances, and they are so by character. The circumstances of the New England people, for instance, remarkably dispose and fit them to aid the West. Their soil is comparatively sterile and ungrateful, and this inclines them to emigrate. They carry with them the very institutions which are wanted by the West; they are never contented with a settlement till it has its school and its church; and their force of character—their thrift, their energy, and their morals—gives them a controlling influence by which society around them is modelled. The hand of Providence seems conspicuous in this provision, and in making it so effectual. In the whole, about 21,000 persons were delivered from the mother country on these shores; their offspring are now spread over all the States, and amount to upwards of three millions of persons!

Not less does their character inspire hope. So far as it affects this subject, it may be said that they have remarkable versatility in adapting themselves to the occasion, and great earnestness in moving to their object. Their *versatility* and tact may possibly be greatly fostered by their circumstances—this is not material to a question purely practical: that it exists is without doubt. The difficulty which would be felt with us, of passing from an occupation which we had learnt, to one of which we were ignorant, is scarcely felt with them. They may not be over careful in selecting means, nor over steady in the use of them; but they certainly have a degree of French facility in falling on them, and in accommodating themselves to them. Many find no difficulty in becoming students at forty, if they should have been denied the opportunity before; and it is a common thing for those who do not succeed to their wishes in one

avocation to apply to another, though years should be the price of acquisition. Forms in society, as well as personal habits, are far less fixed here; and where there is so much freedom to move, you may expect it to abound and vary in proportion. I knew of a gentleman who had been trained to mercantile pursuits; as a Christian, he thought he could be more useful by preaching; he renounced, therefore, his profitable merchandise, to employ himself in public teaching. After some pains and lengthened trial, he had reason to think he had miscalculated on his talent. Having made the experiment, he again became a merchant; remarking, that, as by merchandise he could afford to sustain five preachers better than himself, there could be no doubt that, as a merchant, he might best promote the cause of religion. He felt no difficulty in these transitions; and if he did not display the clearest judgment, he showed that he had no double or dubious motive.

It must be evident to a practised judgment, that this aptitude to become all things to all men and all occasions, is a valuable qualification for real usefulness, in a country where the form and fashion of things are continually varying under the influence of increasing civilization and refinement. The free institutions of the people possess just the same pliancy. The *principle of adaptation*, the want of which a high authority has lately admitted to be the great defect of an Establishment, is certainly the life and virtue of the voluntary system. Whatever may otherwise be its character, its adversaries cannot disallow the inherent power of adaptation; and if they did, America would confound them. The school-house and the church are seen to accommodate themselves precisely to the state of the people, never behind them, never too much in advance. Their very form and structure pass through the gradations of wood, brick, and stone, as do the residences of the people; and their lessons are dispensed by "line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little, and there much," as they can bear them.

Especially, the Americans have great *earnestness* of character; and as this is essential to all true greatness, so it is the very quality to inspire hope. I think I have never seen more of it in any people. It may not always express itself as you would desire; but its very presence and name is power. Their character, like their climate, has great decision about it; it may be hot, it may be cold; but when it is cold it freezes, and when it is hot it burns. Only let them fully apprehend the importance of an object; and you will see them move to it with a directness of mind and a scorn of sacrifices, which would surprise weaker natures.

When this is associated with Christian principle it confers a striking power of self-devotion. Endless instances illustrate and confirm this. It is this quality, thus sanctified, that gives to their missionary his highest praise. It is this, through the form of the Temperance Societies, that has astonished the world with the noble example of a nation renovating itself. In smaller circles the principle is perpetually at work with equal power, though with less observation. I have been charmed and refreshed with it every where. It inspires private Christians to revolve great things, and to compass them by great means. I know of no country where there are more examples of beneficence and magnificence. The rich will act nobly out of their abundance; and the poor will act as nobly out of their penury. There are refreshing instances of individuals sustaining schools, professorships, missionaries, and evangelists. Ministers are repeatedly making movements in which it was evident, that every thing was to be sacrificed for usefulness. I have seen the pastor at sixty, beloved and happy in his people, give up all, and go forth into the wilderness, because he thought that his example, more than his labours, might bless the West; while the church has been as ready to relinquish him, though with tears, when she has been satisfied, that it was for the good of the church catholic. I have seen a band of students, careless of ease and reputation at home, forsake the college which

they have passed with honour, and covenant together to go forth some two thousand miles, to rear a kindred institution in the desert; and I have seen the aged man kindle at their enthusiasm, and support them with his purse, when unable to be their companion. Does a neighbourhood rapidly outrun the existing means of religious instruction? it immediately creates effort; and individuals in different churches volunteer to give up their endeared privileges, and to go forth, as a little colony, to benefit that district.*

Woman, too, has at least an equal spirit of self-devotion here. I have never been more impressed with this. The females move less out of their own sphere than most; but in that sphere they are employing a thousand womanly appliances in favour of the good cause. They have a loftiness of character about them which requires that they should have some great object before them; and none know better than they, how truly little means are sanctified and ennobled by great ends. They band together for all sorts of benevolent and religious uses. The maternal societies are their own, and are at once a testimony to their well-regulated as well as exalted feeling, the mother is not forgotten in the Christian, nor home in the world. They work, or collect in company, for the support of a student or a missionary; they prepare linen and other garments for the poor scholar; and all their deeds are annointed by their prayers. We have seen the spirit of piety kept alive in a church, the Old South, through a long period of darkness and heresy, by the prayers of a few females. The Foreign Missionary Society is considered to have its origin in the prayers and exhortations of one sainted woman. I have known of three excellent matrons, who, when a church was afflicted by a worldly ministry, devoted themselves to secret prayer for its and the church's renovation, and who have lived to offer praise for an answer to prayer, of which none knew but themselves.

* The case of Boston, already noticed, is proof of this; and that of New-York, referred to in the Appendix, is yet more striking.

Who shall doubt of such a people? They are full of hope themselves, and they create hope in others. Every thing about them contributes to nourish it. They are born into national existence in the most auspicious times. All the lessons of wisdom which have been suggested through ages to other nations are at their command. They begin their course just where other empires have closed theirs. Their field of action is so vast, that they may put forth the mightiest energies, without exposure to hostile interests and barbarous warfare. They need fear no foe, and therefore they need not embarrass themselves with alliances which might lead to conflict and bloodshed. They have the fairest opportunity of showing how little a Government may be felt as a burden, and how much as a blessing, silently diffusing life, liberty, and joy, over an immense community. The people are aware of this, and are ennobled by their circumstances. They believe all things, and they will accomplish all things.

Yes, they will accomplish all things, with the single provision, that *they remain under the influence of religion.* Religion is requisite to the welfare of any people; but they have made it emphatically necessary, not only to their prosperity, but to their political existence. The evils to which their promising circumstances chiefly expose them, are worldliness and presumption; and these can be quelled only by religion. No approaches to the experiment they are now making on the liberty of the subject, have been made with success; and they can only succeed by making religion their best ally. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its abstract merits or demerits, is neither desirable nor possible, except the people are the subjects of universal education and universal piety. AMERICA WILL BE GREAT IF AMERICA IS GOOD. If not, her greatness will vanish away like a morning cloud.

LETTER XLIV.

My dear Friend,

Although I have written ostensibly of America, it has been always with a bearing on our own favoured country; and, in conclusion, it may not be improper to refer to those mutual duties which seem to spring from their relationship, their place, and their privileges. This may, perhaps, be done under three or four such terms as—*union—intercourse—peace—and co-operation.*

There is every reason why the churches of the two countries, and the countries themselves, should be in a state of perfect amity and union. If kindred is a cause of union, we should be united; for our relationship is that of parent and child. Never were two people so homogeneous. If interest is a cause of union, we should be united; for just what we want, they have; and just what they want, we have. With us capital is in excess, with them it is deficient; we have too many hands, they have too few; we have mouths craving bread, they have corn craving mouths; we thrive as commerce thrives, they can consume all we can manufacture. If similarity is a source of union, then we should be united; for where shall we find such resemblances? Not to speak of foreign countries, in Wales and in Scotland the Englishman will find stronger differences from what is familiarized to him, than he will find in America. I certainly never felt myself, at once, so far from home, and so much at home, in separation from my native land. Whatever is found with us, has its counterpart there. In habit, in literature, in language, and religion, we are one; and in government are much closer than is usually thought, or than is found between ourselves and any other country. Theirs is, under other names, an elective and limited monarchy, and ours a hereditary limited

monarchy; and our reformations incline us to them, and theirs to us. Why should not such nations be one in affection and in fact?

On the part of the people generally, and of the churches in particular, I can truly assert that they are prepared for this exercise of amity and confidence. While I rejoiced that the churches at home were showing the strength of right and noble feeling, by sending forth a Deputation with their affectionate overtures of communion; I was uncertain whether it would be duly returned. On first landing on the shores of a distant and foreign country, I felt all the chilling force of this incertitude. But it lasted not a day; and the longer we remained, the more we saw, the stronger was the conviction, that this christian overture was not made too soon, it was made too late. Had it been earlier, it had been better. We could not have been more disposed to send out delegates on a mission of fraternal affection, than they were to receive them, by universal kindness and excess of love.

And this feeling is not limited to the churches, it is common to the people. The exasperation beneath which they have frequently acted, and even felt, is as nothing compared with the strong and steady under current of mother feeling, which speaks to them of common blood and common origin. They desire to express love and esteem; but they require, before they do so, to know that they shall not be despised for it. The fault, then, will be ours, if our pride shall stand in the way of our established union and fellowship.

Intercourse is at once the means and the end of union; this, therefore, should have our considerate attention. Such intercourse, I am persuaded, is of high value to the churches on either side the Atlantic; and to the interests of religion generally. It might, for instance, besides nourishing christian affection, prevent interference in our plans of general usefulness, and it might, by mutual conference, impart to them decided improvement. It might likewise promote a still greater resemblance be-

tween churches already so assimilated in form and discipline. Why should we not, for instance, have one Psalmody, as well as one Bible? and one *method*, as well as one faith? and this not by enacting a platform, but by the assimilating power of affectionate intercourse. Such fruits of intercourse would evidently give to the universal church assurance, and before the world, power.

This intercourse may be sustained in many ways. That of delegation, as we have already adopted it, need hardly be named. Only let us see that as we have opened the door, we are at least as eager as any to keep it open. It is pleasing to observe that, on our side, the Baptist community are sending forth their deputation; and that, on the part of America, we have at the present time delegates from the two great religious bodies of that country, with the promise of others. I am by no means, however, pleading for annual missions. At present we could not commit ourselves to this if we would; and if we could, I should not think it desirable. They would lose much of their significance and power, if they were too often repeated; and, from incurring considerable charge with small benefit, they would drop into desuetude. What we shall want is, when the novelty has worn away, still to look steadily to the object; and to act upon it as frequently as a Christian, and not a mercenary, motive shall suggest.

Literary communication is another mode of intercourse commending itself to notice, because it may be always in exercise, and is attended with small expense. The churches there know very little of the state of religion with us; and we know still less of them. Great advantage would arise to both by a free and enlarged communication. Nothing can be more interesting to us than the state of religion in that land, placed as it is in new and untried circumstances; yet, up to the present time, nothing of value, or nothing that may be relied on, has been reported to us. Churches that are in all essential points one, have nevertheless been so absorbed in their own estate, and so little animated by the spirit

of their Founder, as to remain not only without fellowship, but almost without the privity of each other's existence.

To sustain this intercourse with the best effect, we want accredited organs and agents. There should be, in both countries, some one periodical instrument, known and approved, by which every thing important to one body may be readily imparted to the other. With us, the Congregational Magazine, with decided arrangements to that end, might perhaps be made to answer for this duty; but in America there is at present nothing that meets this case. They have papers, and religious papers in abundance; but, because they are so abundant, they are limited in circulation. If, for instance, we desired to make a communication to the churches of New England, there is at present no recognized organ by which it could at once be done. On this account, a letter addressed to them generally, and not to the churches associated in a particular State, was actually passed from association to association, each one expecting the other to answer it, and no one deeming itself qualified to that end. According to existing provisions, it would require that a communication should be made to at least six different parties, to secure its circulation in the several States. If the like intercourse is sought with the Presbyterian churches, not less than four instruments must be employed; and, after all, it loses much of the power which might be derived from an accredited medium. This is an evil that will, I hope, soon find, in the zeal and practical tact of our transatlantic friends, an adequate remedy.

Then there is evidently wanted to correspond with such provisions, a suitable and recognized agency. This is of great importance. From what I have seen the last twelvemonth, there is quite enough to engage the hands and talents of one of our best men; and were the churches ripe for these more enlarged methods of usefulness and union, they could not do better service to the church universal than to devote a person to such engagements. At

present, perhaps, there can hardly be hope of this; and in the want of it, the best should be done that circumstances may allow. Care should be had, that the agency should be such as is generally known and approved, rather than self-created; it should not be such as may be provided by private and pecuniary interests; and it should be decidedly such as will assuredly promote by the wisdom, temper, and piety of its communications, the knowledge, benevolence, and fellowship of the churches.

Why should not more than this be done? Is it not time that the churches created an agency by which they might hold communion and communication with kindred churches of whatever name, or whatever place? Why should not the churches of the European continent, for instance, which are reviving from papal oppression, or a dormant Protestantism, find some common centre where they might enjoy the sympathy and fellowship of all other Christian churches? Why should not the whole church become conscious of its essential oneness, by its sympathy with all the parts? and why should not the parts gather vigour and assurance by their felt connexion with the whole? And why, as this intercourse advanced, should it not lead to personal conference and fellowship? Why might there not be a triennial or quinquennial convention, by delegates of the leading religious bodies in America, and of the reformed churches in England, Holland, France, and Germany, for the purposes of promoting a community of faith, harmony, and love, and of energetic and combined service for the redemption of the world? I can see no greater difficulties in the way, than those which have been overcome in the existing intercourse with America. I can see the highest advantages accruing to the interests of true religion, by its direct influence on the church, and by its indirect influence on the world. Without precisely determining method, the times call for movements of this comprehensive order. Romanism is one; Mohamedism is one; and Paganism is one; but we are not one. And until we become *one* in a different and better sense, the world will never be

convinced, the Redeemer will never be acknowledged, and the subtle combinations of heresy and sin will never be destroyed.*

To enjoy the intercourse we seek, *peace* must be maintained. The native of either country cannot possibly visit, and become associated with, the inhabitants of the other, without deep lamentations that ever war should have existed between them. The resemblances are so great, the connexions are so close, the interests so much in common, as to give to conflict all the horrors of civil war. If, in an ordinary case, war, not sustained by the plea of extreme necessity, is homicide; in this case it is *fratricide*.

Another impression I could not help receiving while in this country. It is, that if the religious community here, and the religious community there, were to adopt just views of the subject, and to express themselves in union and with decision on it, the Government would not be able, but in a case of self-preservation, which is not likely to occur, to prosecute a war. The accumulating feeling and determination of New-England almost prevented the last war; and it is likely it would have been prevented altogether, but for the untoward provocation of firing their capital.

I believe this view of the subject has not been fairly taken by the churches; and, so far, they have failed in their duty. In America, the very evils of the last short and unnecessary war, have had the good effect of awakening many generous minds in the cause of peace; and considerable advances have been made, by prizes, addresses, and sermons, to correct and arouse religious feeling especially on the subject. With us, the Peace Society has been too hastily regarded as a Quaker, and not a Christian, Institution; and because it began by asking too much, nothing has been granted to it, and

* On the subject of intercourse with America, some facilities might be granted by the Government. It is painful to find that the transmission of letters and books meets with so little obstruction on one side of the ocean, and so much on the other.

nothing has been done apart from it. But we must not deceive ourselves. The churches, in both lands, if united on this subject, possess within themselves a moral power, which, as it can destroy slavery, so it may make war all but impossible. This power it is not only legitimate to use, it is obligatory; and they are responsible for all the misery and carnage which arise from its not being used.

There is yet another view to be taken of this interesting and momentous topic. If the religious communities, by a due exercise of their influence, could make war between the two countries, in almost any supposable case, nearly impossible; the two countries, remaining in peace, might secure peace to the whole world. If those very nations, which have the least to fear from war, should be the first to keep the peace, what would be the silent influence on all other nations! And if they should actually employ their advice and influence against angry dispute swelling into deliberate murder, how soon would war become a stranger, if not an exile, from our world!

Not only by power, but even by situation, they seem remarkably fitted to set this example, and to arbitrate these differences, till the troubled nations shall have rest. They are so far from each other, that they are freed from those irritations which too commonly originate serious conflict; so that, if disposed to peace, they can scarcely go to war; while their reciprocal interests may continually strengthen their bonds of union and amity. And they are so placed, in relation to other nations, the one by a boundless territory, and the other by her insular situation, as that necessity can hardly occur for them to participate in the quarrels of others. By station and by power, they are prepared to act, not as parties, but as arbiters.

Here, then, is a field of service, worthy of the church —worthy of angels! And it can scarcely be considered as saying too much to state, as I deliberately do, that it is a field the church has not yet occupied. And still, it may be asked in reply, "Why should she occupy it?

What has she to do with the ambition of the world and the 'strife of the potsherds?'" As a mere question of policy or expediency, I would say, nothing—just nothing. But the cause of peace can never be established amongst men on the principles of expediency and political advantage; and if it could, then it is rather the work of the citizen than of the Christian. Here has been the great error. It may be well and wise to refer to secondary considerations as dissuasives from war; and, with Burke, we may attempt to horrify the imagination, by calculating that it has destroyed as much life and property as are to be found, at the present time, on the globe, fourteen times told. Yet these representations are short of the mark, and show a feeble and imperfect conception of the monstrous evil. The only effectual argument against war is, that WAR IS SIN. This will lay hold on the conscience; this will justify the Christian in interfering; and this will not allow the church to slumber, while, for the purposes of vulgar ambition, one hundred thousand men are commanded to massacre another hundred thousand men, and to hurry them away into an awful eternity, uncalled, in their sins and in their blood.

It is not to be supposed that, in thus glancing at the subject, I should discuss all captious objection. But I would crave to have it observed, that it is no part of my intention to place the principle of peace in opposition to the principle of self-preservation. I can conceive of a case, whether of an individual or of a nation, in which resistance may be a virtue; though I am persuaded that this supposable case has been used to justify a thousand actual cases, which have no resemblance; and in which resistance is not a virtue, but a crime.

And as civilization and religion advance, why should not the barbarous and brutal practice of appealing to power, rather than to justice, be superseded by wiser and more humane methods? As in a community, the persons composing it are brought to commit their persons, property, and honour, to the provisions of that

community ; so, in the family of civilized mankind, composed of a number of nations, why should there not be a common and recognized authority, which should arbitrate the differences, and protect the interests of each and of all ; bringing to the weak power, and to the injured righteousness ? If any thing is characterizing the times in which it is our privilege to live, it is, that right is taking the place of might ; or, in other words, that moral power is supplanting physical power. And nothing can be more favourable to the subject we are contemplating. Right is the harbinger of Peace ; while force is the very sinews, and soul, and inspiration of the demon War.

But this appeal, if worthy of the name, is to the churches. This subject has not been duly considered by them ; let them now consider it. Let them remember that they are "children of peace," that they obey the "Prince of Peace ;" and that their religion breathes peace, not only on a nation, but on the world. Let them not condemn the evil in the abstract, and plead for it in the detail ; nor deplore its soul-harrowing consequences, while they connive at its plausible pretences. Let them strip the demon of all his pomp and circumstance and glory ; and let him appear, in all his naked and horrible deformity, that men may confess him to be a fiend of the lower, and not a resident of the present, world. Let them glorify their religion by banding together as an army of pacificators ; and when the crisis for action arrives, let them raise their voice, and make it to be heard above all the clamour for war, distinctly, calmly, one. Nothing would be more worthy of them ; nothing would contribute more to general civilization ; nothing would so efficiently promote the advancement of religion and virtue ; and nothing would so forcibly place the future, which would be the history of benevolence and peace, in contrast with the past, which is the history of bloodshedding and murder.

So far as America and England are concerned, peace, intercourse, and union, should be employed and sanctified

as means of energetic *co-operation* for the conversion of the world. This is the end to which we should be steadfastly looking in all our intercourse; and, great as this end is, it may be thus contemplated without despondency. These nations are singularly prepared by Providence for this high service; so much so, indeed, as to indicate that it is consigned to their hands. Where shall we find two nations placed so advantageously on the surface of the globe to this end? Where shall we find them in possession of so much of the world's commerce, which is a direct means to this end? Where shall we find a people whose civil and religious institutions are so prepared to bless mankind? And where shall we find any people who are so ready, by desire and effort, as these, to bestow whatever makes them distinguished and happy upon all other nations? Blot out England and America from the map of the world, and you destroy all those great institutions which almost exclusively promise the world's renovation; but, unite England and America in energetic and resolved co-operation for the world's salvation, and the world is saved.

It is not only important that they should render these services; they should render them in union. It should be felt, that what the one does, the other virtually does also; and the very names, indicating the two people, should be a sort of synonyme, which might be applied to the same works. The service is arduous; the difficulties are great; and the adversary of liberty, light, and religion, should be suffered to gain neither advantage nor confidence, by regarding us as separable. We shall have more relative, and more real, power by acting together. In this connexion, one and one make more than two; they exert a triple force against every opposing obstacle.

Here, then, is the province of these two great countries. They are to consult, act, and labour in union for the conversion and blessedness of the world. For this they are made a people; for this they are evangelized; for this they are privileged, and blessed themselves.

Theirs is no common destiny; and theirs should be no common ambition. They are to find their greatness, not in the degradation of other nations, but in raising them to an elevation of being which they have not known. They should rise from the patriot into the philanthropist, and express love to man from love to his Maker. Great as they then would be, their greatness would not create fear, but admiration and confidence; and He who made them great would not withhold his approbation.

Let them look to this! Let no one "take their crown." Let the man that would enkindle strife between them, be deemed an enemy alike to both countries. Let them turn away from the trivial and the temporary; and look on the great, the good, the abiding. Let them faithfully accomplish their high commission, and theirs will be a glory such as Greece, with all her Platonic imaginings, never sought; and such as Rome, with all her real triumphs, never found.

NARRATIVE

OF A

VISIT TO CANADA AND PENNSYLVANIA.

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LETTER I.

My dear Friend,

Having decided to visit the Canadas, at the request of ministers and friends who sent deputations to us at New York, we left Boston on the 5th of June, and arrived at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, on the evening of the 7th. We there embarked in a steamboat, and reached St. John's, in Lower Canada, early on the morning of the 8th. This frontier town is a poor uncomfortable place; and much as I wished to cherish suitable feelings in once more entering the British dominions, I could find nothing pleasant either in the place, the people, or the surrounding scenery. The weather was hot; the dust was lying six or eight inches deep in the street; and the millions of flies which covered the walls and windows, could only be compared to one of the plagues of Egypt. The very atmosphere was so clouded with these troublesome insects, that one could not breathe or move without destroying life. And the number of those that were lying dead, appeared equal to that of the living; the duration of their ephemeral existence seemed, indeed, to be limited to a day.

It was the Sabbath. At the hour of worship we proceeded to the Episcopal church, a small building, and

thinly attended. Glad should we have been to hear within its walls, the great doctrines of the Church of England faithfully and simply proclaimed. An opportunity of listening to these truths in such a place, would have been as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The sermon, however, was not calculated to afford either comfort or instruction. The text was Job xlii. 5. The preacher's main design was to apply the passage to the *season* of *spring*, and to show that its return was calculated to inspire the feelings which Job expressed. There was not one allusion to the confession of the following verse, as resulting from enlightened views of the Divine character and law; nor the least reference to the way of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ. Seneca or Plato could have made a better discourse. It was unsuccessful even in the sentimentalism at which it aimed.

I visited the Sunday school, which was conducted in the church during the interval of public worship. A young minister has been chosen by the people, to assist the old missionary, and is supported by them; and this school has been revived by his exertions. There were about fifty children in attendance. The teachers appeared anxious to do good; but they are much discouraged by the indifference of the parents to the religious instruction of their children; as well as by the jealousy and opposition of the Roman Catholics.

We attended the afternoon service, and heard the junior minister. His sermon was quite in contrast with that of the morning. His theology was correct, and it was evidently his desire to be useful. If there was any deficiency in the discourse, it was in the want of adaptation to the circumstances of the congregation. It was suited to the edification of real Christians; but it related more to their experience than was likely to benefit those who had been used for twenty years to the preaching of the senior minister. There was no religious service in the evening. Upon inquiry, I found that no room nor place could be found in which we could hold a meeting.

The mass of the people are Canadian French. It was distressing to see a large proportion of them spending the evening in idleness and pleasure. No such scene had been presented to us in the United States; and the contrast with what we had recently witnessed in towns of similar size, was very painful. Much of this Sabbath profanation may of course be attributed to French manners and Roman Catholic influence; but it indicates a gloomy state of moral desolation, and renders the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel peculiarly necessary. Protestants, in such a situation, should feel that zeal and consistency on their part are especially called for. The influence of an evil example, however, seems stronger than that of an opposite kind. This was the least satisfactory Sabbath we had spent in the New World.

On Monday we left St. John's for La Prairie (eighteen miles.) There was little to give interest to the journey. We had abundant opportunity to observe the pernicious effects of cheap ardent spirits. The public houses were thronged with people, and the work of demoralization was evidently going on. This day, as on former days, we met great numbers of Irish, proceeding to different parts of the United States. Many of them appeared to be in a wretched plight. When we reached La Prairie, we found that the steam ferry-boat had just arrived from Montreal, with three hundred Irish emigrants. Seldom have I witnessed such a scene of confusion, or such a motley company. Every variety of age, of appearance, and of character, was to be seen. Some were encumbered with boxes and trunks; others seemed to possess nothing but the rags which covered them. A few of those who had luggage, had obtained vehicles for conveying it; and in these they had already placed it, together with their wives and little ones. They were hastening onwards, not knowing what might await them in a land of strangers; while others, uniting in little bands, were slowly following on foot. A long voyage, and its privations, had given an appearance of wretchedness to

many of the emigrants. But while the looks of some bespoke distress, and fear, and anxiety, others looked perfectly unconcerned, and reckless of consequences. In this way tens of thousands of these destitute beings are thrown into the midst of American society. What nation could receive such numbers of wretched, and too often demoralized, individuals, without sustaining deep injury? That the United States have been morally injured by this cause, I have no doubt. Their bearing up against this evil as they have done, proves the elasticity of their national character, and the powerful influence of religious habits. I very much question whether, in our larger towns, we have succeeded so well in restraining the evil consequences of Irish and Roman Catholic emigration.

While waiting the departure of the boat, and surveying, with mingled emotions, the scene I have described, a poor creature came up to me, with a torn slip of paper, which she asked me to read for her. It had once contained the address of some person, but it was now so mutilated as to be unintelligible. The State was New York, but the name of the town I could not make out. This piece of paper was all she had brought from Ireland, to direct her to the habitation of her sister, who had previously crossed the Atlantic. I was sorry for her; but the only advice I could give her was to continue with those who had accompanied her from Ireland, till she reached the State of New York, and the settlements of her countrymen, and then to make inquiry. We crossed the magnificent St. Lawrence to Montreal; the distance, in an oblique direction, is about nine miles. The view of the town from the river was singular. The roofs of many of the houses being covered with tin, and glittering in the bright sunshine, presented a brilliant appearance. Our moist atmosphere would soon corrode and destroy such roofs; but there the air is so dry that they last for a number of years.

It is not my province to enter into a particular description of the city, even though I possessed ability to do so.

Its peculiar aspect attracted my attention. The language, dress, and manners of many whom we met, might have led us to imagine we were in France. Many French names, too, met our eye on the doors of shops and dwelling-houses; but intermingled with these, there is a large proportion which plainly bespeak a Scottish or Gaelic origin. I read the names of Mackintosh, M'Gregor, and M'Donald, with an interest which, perhaps, I might not have felt if nearer home.

We found that the ministers and missionaries whom we expected to meet us at Montreal, had not arrived, though written to some days before. As it was likely two or three days more would still elapse, before they did come, we decided on going to Quebec. We embarked on Tuesday, at two P. M. From Montreal downwards for seventy miles, we had most magnificent views of the mighty river. It was the most splendid sight I have yet seen in the New World; and, indeed, I should think, cannot be surpassed in any part of our globe. Before us lay an immense body of water, extending onward as far as the eye could reach; pursuing its course in a channel two or three miles wide, and this channel filled almost to overflowing. It looked like a lake of molten glass, so clear, and placid, and full. The banks are thickly studded with cottages, generally built of wood, which give an air of life and cheerfulness to the scene. We had ample time to admire it, as our progress was somewhat impeded by having three vessels in tow. Night, for a little time, threw a veil over the objects at which we gazed; but it was followed by a lovely morning. Vegetation here, at this season, wears all the freshness of spring. The foliage of the trees is but just making its appearance, bursting, as if with conscious delight, from its winter prison.

The distance from Montreal to Quebec is 180 miles; and the cottages of the Canadians continue to appear at thirty or forty yards distance from each other, all the way down. I was informed by a person on board, that they are equally numerous for ninety or a hundred

miles below Quebec. It gives one the idea of a dense population; but I understand that the settled parts do not extend into the interior, more than nine or ten miles from the banks of the river. Near Quebec, the country becomes more elevated, and mountains appear in the distance. As we proceeded down the river, we observed canoes lying opposite to almost every cottage. Stone crosses occur frequently, and churches at every eight or nine miles. There were many rafts of wood on the river, proceeding to Quebec, to supply the British market. Some of these were of great extent, and of considerable value. Those which were navigated by Indians, had wigwams made of bark erected on them. Other navigators (chiefly Canadians) had sheds, formed of the materials they were conveying to the vessels. We passed one large raft, which was navigated by twelve or fifteen men. The owner of it was on board our steamer. He estimated the value of it at a thousand pounds sterling. He remarked that the trade was a great speculation, as the wind sometimes arises with such violence, as to separate the rafts entirely. In this case, the oak trees sink; trees of lighter wood can sometimes be drawn ashore and secured. But it not unfrequently happens that, in an hour or two, the hopes of the speculator are altogether destroyed. As we approached near the end of the voyage, we saw the rafts taken into little bays, on both sides of the river, to which places some of the vessels come up to receive their cargoes. The approach to Quebec is very magnificent: the craggy rocks of Cape Diamond, crowned with the almost impregnable fortress, stand out in fine relief against the sky. Numerous vessels were lying at anchor, a short distance below the citadel; and in the back-ground is a range of blue hills, which form a striking contrast with the level and cultivated country before them.

We had not been many minutes in the town, before we had a visit from the Rev. Mr. Hicks, who was known to Mr. Reed. He had heard we were coming

down, and soon received an intimation of our arrival. We spent the afternoon and evening with him. Our conversation related chiefly to the state of religion in the Canadas, where he has been for eighteen or twenty years, and was closed with devotional exercises.*

Next day we visited the Fort—the heights of Abraham—saw the field of battle, and the place where Wolfe received his mortal wound. A considerable part of the battle-field is built upon, so that the space now appears contracted. The ravine, by which Wolfe approached during the night, and gained possession of the heights, was pointed out to us, as well as a road to the right, leading from the suburbs of La Roche, by which the French troops marched to attack him. But I forbear description. We also went about nine miles, accompanied by some friends, to visit the Falls of Montmorenci. With these I was much delighted. The principal fall is about a hundred and fifty feet in height, and thirty or forty in width. At a distance, it was like an immense sheet of the purest snow. The road to the Falls is tolerably good. The farming here is superior to what we have seen before. The owners of the land are chiefly English farmers. I noticed the backwardness of vegetation, and consequently of agricultural operations, compared with England, or even with the United States. My pear trees were showing blossom on the 12th of March, before I left home. In New Jersey, and around Baltimore, the blossom of the peach and pear trees was fully out on the 16th of April; at New York, on the 1st of May; at Boston, the 26th; and at Quebec, the 12th of June. Here, too, the simple and fragrant hawthorn is now displaying its richest bloom. The farmers are busy planting their potatoes. The soil appears to be good; and here there are few unsightly stumps presented to the eye. The views of Quebec, which we had, in going to, and returning from,

* This excellent and useful man is now no more. A few weeks after we saw him at Quebec, the cholera, which was committing fearful ravages in the town, seized him, and he also became one of its victims.

the Falls, were very fine; as we could perfectly command both the lower and upper town, and the Fort crowning the whole.

We remained in Quebec for a short time after our return, in order to consult with friends, and obtain some information respecting the state of religion in the Lower Province. After communicating all they knew on this subject, "they accompanied us to the ship," and we sailed in the evening for Montreal. There were immense crowds of people; and in port, or a little way up the river, there must have been nearly three hundred sail of vessels waiting for cargoes. Our steam-packet had to receive a shipment of emigrants, from a Hull vessel, which had just arrived. They had such quantities of luggage to remove, that we were detained an hour or two beyond the time fixed for sailing. We had also nearly twenty Roman Catholic priests on board. They were polite and obliging, but only one of them could speak English, and that in a very broken way. Most of them landed at the different places where they reside, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, before we reached this place, which we did yesterday afternoon.

On Saturday we had a meeting with a number of ministers and other friends. We had with us, ministers of the Wesleyan, Scotch and American Presbyterian, Baptist, and Independent denominations. They seemed desirous to give us all the information they could, respecting the state of religion in the Colonies. The substance of their replies to our inquiries, together with the religious statistics of both provinces, which we obtained, will be given in this report. On Sabbath, the members of the deputation preached in the Presbyterian and Methodist places of worship, where collections were made to assist in the erection of a new chapel for the Congregationalists, their present place of meeting being small and inconveniently situated. It was gratifying to us, to find this cordiality among the Christians of different denominations; who, forgetting for a while their peculiarities, were willing to assist another section of the church,

holding the same essential truths of Christianity with themselves. It ought also to be stated, that the Baptist chapel was closed in the evening, to allow the congregation to attend the Presbyterian church, where the collection was to be made. By this time, some other friends, missionaries and agents of different religious institutions, had arrived. We had two lengthened interviews with them, and received a variety of information respecting the eastern townships, and some of the newly settled districts of Lower Canada. We deeply feel the responsibility of our present engagements, and anxiously desire that our coming may be for good to this neglected country.

LETTER II.

My dear Friend,

While at Montreal, I met with a Christian family from Greenock, related to the late Mr. Hercus, for so many years the esteemed pastor of the church there. A good man was visiting them, who has been a number of years in this country, but who was formerly a member of one of the Congregational churches in the Highlands of Scotland. He had come to Montreal, a distance of thirty miles from his residence, in the interior, in the hope of obtaining a missionary to labour for a few weeks in his township, where the people anxiously desire the preaching of the gospel. But, as they require one who can preach in the Gaelic language, I fear there was no probability of his being successful. He himself, however, has been indefatigable in using such means as were in his power. He has held prayer meetings, established five Sunday schools, and tried, in a variety of ways, to do good.

We left Montreal on Monday, the 16th, and arrived, on Tuesday afternoon, at Brockville, about 152 miles

farther up the river. We travelled by stages the first thirty-seven miles, in order to avoid the Rapids; and then got on board a steamboat for the rest of the way. The views on the river are very fine, especially from Cornwall to Brockville. The islands are numerous, and the indentations of the shore present a continual variety.

The friends at Brockville gave us a very kind reception. We found several ministers, who had come from a considerable distance, in order to further the object of our mission. Here there are persons from various parts of the old country, some of whom we had met with before they quitted its shores. To renew the intercourse so far from home was delightful. The people in this place are anxious for additional means of religious instruction, and would willingly exert themselves to secure it. They had written to their friends at home, to send out a suitable minister, but had received no reply. In expectation of our arrival, notice had been given, that there would be a religious service in the Court-house, the place usually occupied on such occasions. Both Mr. Reed and myself preached.

The morning of the 18th was spent with the ministers from a distance, and Christian friends on the spot. Their communications were highly valuable and important. In the afternoon, we set off for Kingston, and arrived early on Thursday morning. Mr. Reed remained there, according to arrangement, while I went forward, in another steamboat, to Coburgh, about one hundred and twenty miles farther. The voyage up the Bay of Quinte was very delightful. It is about eighty miles in length, and four in breadth. One of the missionaries, who met with us at Brockville, accompanied me about half way up the bay, to his station. We passed an Indian village, inhabited by about four hundred of the Mohawk tribe. An Episcopal missionary, who takes care of their religious instruction, was also my fellow-passenger. He preaches once on the Sabbath in English. The church is a frame-building; and when the time of

service arrives, instead of a bell, a flag is hoisted, to summon the people. Those of the inhabitants whom we saw at the village landing-place were miserable looking objects. I had a good deal of conversation with one of their tribe, who came on board. He knew English tolerably well, and very readily answered my questions. The boat arrived at the "Carrying-Place" late at night. It was a wretched spot, the stage-house poor and uncomfortable, and a long way from the water's edge. I was glad to leave it by the stage, at four o'clock on Friday morning, though the journey was far from being agreeable, on a swampy, muddy, corduroy road. The first part of it has been but newly made through the forest. I had particularly wished to see the superintendent of the Indian missions, who resides not far from Coburgh; but finding him from home, I proceeded at once to the town. It is an increasing, rising place, and promises to be an important settlement.

I was now within eight or ten miles of a family whom I had known in England, and whom I had promised to visit, if in my power. Having some hours to spare, I hired a vehicle, and a young Irishman (of whom there are many here) drove me to their farm, which is in Hamilton township. After we had proceeded a mile or two from the lake, we entered on the forest, and travelled more slowly. Some parts of the road were newly cut, and it required considerable skill to drive with safety. A few farms had been cleared, others were but just undergoing that process. Some settlers were only clearing a few acres, immediately around their log huts. It must require a stout heart and strong hands to begin such a work. Many of the trees were fine majestic specimens of the fir tribe.

You may imagine the joy of ———'s family on seeing me, and hearing from me of their friends in England. Valuable as letters are in a distant land, it is still more valuable to hear from the living voice, answers to the numerous and anxious inquiries which rapidly succeed each other. When I looked around me, and saw the dwelling

the scenery, and all the external circumstances in which the family are placed, I was much affected with the contrast presented to their former situation. A crowd of recollections rushed upon my mind; and I thought it must be a very plain case of duty, which can justify such persons in leaving their native land thus to dwell in the wilderness. I recollected my visits to this family about fourteen years ago. You know the beautiful situation of the farm which they occupied, the fine scenery and cultivated appearance of the valley in which it lies. The house and offices were new and commodious; every thing wore the appearance of comfort, and they were surrounded with friends and religious privileges. They had only to cross one of their own fields to reach the highway, and then they were close to the market-town. I remember considering it one of the finest specimens of an English farmer's *onstead* that I had ever seen. The interior of the house was suitably and respectably furnished, and the farm well stocked.

But what is their situation now? They have a log hut for a dwelling; and the only out-house is a smaller hut, of the same kind. There is but one apartment for the whole family, consisting of nine individuals; a ladder, it is true, leads to an upper room; but, judging from the height of the building, this must be a very low and inconvenient chamber. One of our meanest cottages at home affords conveniences, which this family do not possess in theirs. I saw neither cupboard nor closet, and I wondered much where the provisions and culinary vessels were kept. Before I left, however, I found they had a sort of cellar underneath, which they reached by removing one or two deals from the floor. How different from the cool and spacious dairies, and neatly arranged closets, of English housewifery!

The mother, as might be expected, feels their privations most. The daughters, of whom there are five at home, appear more willing to be reconciled to their new circumstances. Of actual fatigue and hardship, the father has had the largest share. He spent nearly all his

capital in the purchase of a farm, and cannot afford to hire labourers. The great burden of all the field labour has, therefore, fallen on himself, his sons being too young to be of much use to him. The farm consists of about one hundred acres, seventy of which were cleared when he bought it. He paid 500*l.* for it, besides purchasing the crop on the ground; and then the farm was to be stocked. This exhausted his resources, and left but little to procure those articles of furniture which were almost essential to their comfort. While it is thus plain, that the family have been much tried by the change they have made, and perhaps have endured more severe privations than they expected, yet I was pleased to find, after the first burst of feeling had spent itself, that they spoke of the future with hope. They seemed aware that the first year or two was the period of trial; and that it they overcame that, the prospect would brighten, and they might begin to gather around them the comforts and conveniences of their early home. They have the necessaries of life already; their provisions are substantial, though served in a homely way. And they need have no anxiety about quarter-day, tithes, or taxes. The property is all their own; and, happily for new settlers, the provincial rates are too small to be worth naming. While in their own country, they had been every year losing part of the little fund they possessed; so that the parents were unable to make any provision for the children, or to establish them in business. It did seem a duty to save what yet remained; and though the parents will have to struggle while they live, they do so under the conviction, that, when they are removed by death, they will not leave their children destitute, or without a home.

But while, as I have said, they cherished resignation and hope, there is one circumstance in their lot which occasions unmingled sorrow, and that is—their religious destitution. The mother feels as a Christian parent ought to feel in such circumstances; and it seemed quite a relief to her to tell me all her sorrows. She described the blank presented to them on the Sabbath—no place of

worship nearer than Coburgh; no conveyance to carry them there; and if they even could reach it, no instruction suitable for themselves or their children. She looked at them, and her heart sickened at the prospect of their growing up without religious ordinances, and without a sanctuary. They meet, it is true, with a few neighbours on the Sabbath, in a little log hut not far off, for singing and prayer, and reading the Scriptures; but she felt that this was far less likely to engage the attention, and impress the minds of young people, than the preaching of a faithful and affectionate minister of Christ would be. She trembled lest her children should become indifferent, and perhaps opposed to sacred institutions, and forget the good old way in which their fathers had walked. Fixing her streaming eyes on me, she addressed me with the most moving earnestness:—"O, if the Christians of England only knew our situation, and that of thousands around us, they would not rest satisfied till they sent men of God to preach the gospel to us. If they only knew a mother's grief at seeing her children growing up without the means of grace, would they not feel for us, would they not send us help? Do tell them of our case, and that of many around us, who would willingly attend the preaching of good men of any denomination. Only let such men come, and we will show them all the kindness in our power." I need hardly say, I promised to let her request be known at home, and to do all I could to help them.

I was deeply moved by her appeal; and never did the possession of wealth seem more desirable than at that moment, as affording the means of sending forth labourers into such a sphere of usefulness. I thought how little our good people at home prize their religious advantages, compared with their real value; and how delighted many here would be to possess a tithe of what they enjoy. We had a solemn parting, not expecting to meet again on earth. The mother was the last to speak, and her words were an urgent entreaty—"Do not forget us; do tell the good people at home how much we need their

sympathy and their prayers." And surely her request will find a response in every Christian parent's bosom, and plead more strongly than any arguments I could employ. This good woman's father was a venerable minister of Christ; and such having been the privilege of her youth, no wonder that now, in her old age, with all a mother's anxieties, she is so importunate for gospel ordinances. I did not see the father, as he had gone to the saw-mill. My thoughts will often revert to the scenes of that day in the midst of the forest.

LETTER III.

My dear Friend,

On the morning of the twenty-first, the steam boat from Kingston called at Coburgh. Mr. Reed was on board. And here he had a short but pleasing interview with two former pupils of the London Orphan Asylum. I had previously given them notice of his coming; and though it was about four o'clock in the morning when the boat came in, they were waiting, eager to see one whom they had been accustomed to consider one of their best friends. Their master was with them, and expressed his satisfaction with their conduct. These orphan lads are doing well; and they are indebted for their present situation, and their prospects of future support, to the institution which protected their youth, and provided suitable instruction for them. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to my colleague, to meet with instances, like these, of good resulting from a plan of benevolence, in which he takes so lively an interest.

From Coburgh we proceeded to Toronto, where we arrived about three P. M. This is a most important place, and likely to be very soon the largest and most influential city in either province. It is easy of access from

the United States, and furnishes a convenient resting-place for persons intending to settle in the farther West. Indeed, it forms a centre to an immense extent of country on the east, west, and north. The number of new houses built last year is five hundred, most of them substantial brick buildings. This year, in consequence of the derangement of commerce with the United States, only two hundred and fifty have been erected. There are the outlines of an immense city. When these are filled up, and the proposed plan completed, it will certainly deserve the title "magnificent," which the good people are even already disposed to give it. The streets are making rapid encroachments on the forest. There is a daily struggle going on between the progress of civilization, and the scenes of savage life; the results of artificial culture, and the primitive wildness of nature, border closely upon each other. Large stumps of trees adorn some of the gardens in the centre of the city; and even the burying-ground, probably one of the oldest inhabited spots, contains a few such monuments of these noble trees. The population is about twelve thousand, and every year is adding thousands to it. There are six places of worship, capable of containing five thousand people; but not one half of that number attend on religious ordinances.

We secured quarters for the night at the Ontario House, and were almost immediately visited by some of those friends who had been expecting us, and who expressed great pleasure on our arrival. In consequence of a communication previously received from us, they had made arrangements for bringing together as many as possible of the persons most interested in the object of our mission, and who are desirous to secure for themselves a greater amount of religious privileges than they at present enjoy. Here also, as in other Canadian towns, several persons, whom we had known in Europe, or with whose friends we were acquainted, introduced themselves to us, eager to obtain all the information we could give them respecting their own country.

We were anxious to visit the settlement of Chippeway Indians on Credit river, about twenty miles from Toronto. The missionary stationed there, is Peter Jones, known to his own tribe by the name of Kahkewaquonaby, who visited England two or three years ago. We had heard various accounts of the condition of the settlement, and wished to judge for ourselves. The missionary has also become somewhat better known, both in our country and in his own, in consequence of his marrying an English lady, who has exchanged a residence in London for his abode in the midst of the woods. We fixed Sunday, the 22d, for our excursion to the place, as a day on which we could worship with them, and ascertain more easily their moral and religious condition.

The roads were exceedingly rough, and our progress was slow and fatiguing. Our path lay chiefly through the forest. The morning was delightful: the scenery, the day, and the occasion of our journey, all furnished materials for reflection. We met very few persons on the road; and passed no place of worship, though one or two hamlets were in sight. The beauty of the birds, though without song, and the variety and brilliancy of the insect tribes flitting around us, gave life and animation to the scene. Nature was here undisturbed. No sound met the ear, in the depth of the forest, but the tapping of the woodpeckers, numbers of which were to be seen flying about. The farther we advanced, the more closely did the forest circumscribe our path; till we came to a part that seemed newly formed, the stumps of the trees remaining close to the edge of it. Still no settlement appeared, nor any indication of a human abode being near. On a sudden, we heard the sound of a conch, or horn; it was repeated at intervals, as we supposed, to announce that the time for worship had arrived. After this, we soon came in sight of the village and of the people—red men and white—hastening to the place of meeting, the largest building that we saw.

We arrived just in time to speak to Peter Jones before he entered. He received us kindly, but without

much apparent feeling. I was somewhat curious to see his congregation, and to hear his mode of instructing them. The chapel would contain about two hundred and fifty persons. One half of the number present were Indians; and the other half, respectable white settlers, from the neighbouring farms, with their families. I was pleased to see the "middle wall of partition," between white and coloured men, broken down; and that they could meet, on an equal footing, to worship Him who hath made them both one blood.

Mr. Jones began the service by reading a hymn in English; he then read the same in the Chippeway language; and it was sung. In prayer and in preaching, he adopted the same method. My friend addressed a few words to the people. I confess I was rather disappointed in the appearance of the congregation. Perhaps I had gone with expectations too highly raised. But I was particularly struck with the dull and heavy countenances of the Indians. I was not surprised to see them appear uninterested when their minister was addressing them in English; but I did expect their looks would brighten when the gospel was proclaimed in their own tongue. I did not perceive any difference: nothing that was said seemed to arouse them. I am aware that it is a peculiarity in the character of the Indians, not to *manifest* emotion, though they may really feel it. But I had imagined that, when they had felt the love of Christ, it would considerably alter them in this respect. It was, however, gratifying to see so many wild men of the forest brought together, to be instructed concerning that "Great Spirit," who was to their fathers an "unknown God." The missionary was very mild in his address, and gave his hearers a simple statement of the gospel. He spoke English correctly, and with less of a foreign accent than might have been expected. It was pleasant to hear "the joyful sound," in the depths of a Canadian forest, from the lips of a native Indian, who, not many years ago, was in a savage state, ignorant of letters and of the true God. He and his brother, a fine-

looking young man, are striking instances of the power of Divine grace. They have translated the New Testament, as well as one or two smaller books, into the Chippeway language.

We accompanied the missionary to his cottage, one of the neatest and best constructed in the settlement. We found the interior, also, furnished in a style of elegance and comfort, which formed a striking contrast to the rude and unfinished appearance of the village in general. Of course, this is easily accounted for from Mr. Jones's connexion with England. He entertained us in the kindest and most unostentatious manner. He appears to be a humble, modest man; though few Indians have had stronger temptations to cherish vanity. Considering the notice into which he has been brought, and the attentions paid to him in England, it is matter of congratulation, that he has hitherto worn well, and seems disposed to continue his labours among his countrymen.

He accompanied me to visit some of the cottages of the natives, and here I did enjoy the pleasure of seeing some expression of feeling. The entrance of their teacher brought a smile over their countenances, and gave a degree of animation to their looks, which I had not seen produced by any thing else. Their huts were not very commodious; and there was sometimes a singular mixture of articles, belonging to civilized and to savage life. But though our peasants would consider them deficient in many things essential to domestic comfort, yet the change for the better, from the former state of their inhabitants, must be very great. Living in scattered wigwams; indebted for support to their success in hunting, without the resources of agriculture; they must often have been in want and distress.* Yet there was considerable difficulty in collecting these people together, and were it not for the influence of religion, some of them would be off to the woods again. As it is, they so much love their former rambling mode of life,

* Whatever encomiums Rousseau may have bestowed on savage life, it is a sorry and miserable state of existence among the Canadian woods.

that once a year, if the season is favourable, they pay a visit of some weeks to their old hunting-ground. They take their children with them, and encamp in true Indian style, while they try to secure some provisions for the winter. At the same time, they are extending the means of support nearer home, by clearing more land. There was a grant of three thousand acres made to them by the Government, and it was made inalienable, so that no white man can tempt them to sell it. This forms a strong inducement to remain in fixed habitations. And though the whole settlement bears marks of recent origin, and much remains to be done in the way of adding to their external comfort, yet we may consider it as a successful attempt to reduce wandering savages to social order, and to the habits of a well-regulated community. It likewise proves the power of religion to produce these results; for there is no reason to suppose, that any other means than religious instruction, with the influence of a zealous and affectionate teacher, could have induced them to relinquish ancient customs, and powerful habits. In all such cases, Christianity must *precede* civilization. When once the purifying and elevating influence of religion is experienced, the chief difficulty is removed. There are then principles to work upon, which can overcome evil propensities; and motives to appeal to, which are as powerful with a converted Indian, as a converted Englishman. In this point of view, the change effected appears doubly important. They were formerly sunk into the most debased and abject condition; given up to excesses of every kind—intemperate and unclean—grossly ignorant, and having no wish to learn. But God has blessed the labours of their teacher, whom they know and respect as a chief of their own tribe. There are ninety of them united in church fellowship, who maintain a walk and conversation becoming the gospel. There is a Temperance Society established in the place, which has produced so great a change, that only two or three of the Indians continue the use of ardent spirits. And the people have among them the ele-

ments of progressive improvement. They have the Scriptures in their own language. Beside a Sunday school, attended by all the children, there is also a week-day school, where they are receiving such instruction as will fit them for the intercourse of civilized life. The habits of their fathers will be gradually forgotten or forsaken; and, as they become sensible of new wants and desires, these will stimulate them to increasing industry. The respectable character of the white settlers around them is also likely to have a beneficial effect on their character. The population of the settlement is about two hundred in all.

Looking at the chapel, and the means used for the instruction of the people, it was gratifying to be informed, that English zeal and money had greatly promoted the good work. When Mr. Jones was in England, two or three years ago, he collected nearly one thousand pounds for this particular mission. But he does not entirely confine his labours to this place. He has lately travelled some hundred miles, to visit other portions of the Chippeway tribe, on Lake Superior.

As each of our party had to preach at Toronto in the evening, we were obliged to return thither, without attending the afternoon service at the settlement. On that evening, and next morning, we met with a number of christian friends, of different denominations, with whom we consulted, on the subject which has hitherto occupied the chief part of our attention. Some of the most influential of these persons are anxious to obtain the services of a respectable and acceptable minister, who might act as an adviser and friend to missionaries sent to this part of Canada. They wished us to make suitable arrangements, and to prevail, if possible, on such a minister to come to them. We engaged to do so, and they promised to wait till such an individual came. We experienced great kindness at Toronto. I have especial reason to mention the valuable assistance of Dr. Rolph, a physician. Finding that I was unwell, he took me to his house, and treated me like a brother.

His kind attention was most beneficial to me; and though we may not meet again on earth, I shall ever remember him with the most grateful feelings.

This is a country growing in importance every day. Of immense extent, and possessing a fertile soil, it is capable of sustaining a large population. Its commercial advantages are great; and the exemption from taxes, enjoyed by the favour of our Government, affords important facilities to all classes of the inhabitants, which they all are ready to acknowledge. The subject of emigration has excited so much interest at home, that I cannot altogether pass it over in silence. Canada certainly offers an asylum to many of those who find all their efforts vain, to provide comfortably for their families or themselves in their own country. But this can only be said of those who are *steady* and industrious. Let not the idle or the dissolute delude themselves with the idea of finding here that prosperity which is incompatible with the indulgence of their propensities elsewhere. The inspired adage is most peculiarly applicable to the state of these colonies, that, "if any man will not work, neither shall he eat;" while habits of dissipation are doubly dangerous, on account of the low prices at which ardent spirits may be obtained. Instances have been related to me, in which a whole township has been ruined by this circumstance; and persons habitually prone to intemperance, generally come to a premature and wretched end, within a few years of their arrival. But here it is also emphatically true, "that the hand of the diligent maketh rich;" even to them, however, this is "the land of hope," not of immediate ease and comfort. And to industry must be added, patient perseverance—a disposition cheerfully to endure hardships and inconveniences unknown before, for a few years at least; and perhaps, also, solitude, and almost entire seclusion from society. It is obvious also, that the exercise of these virtues must depend, in a great measure, on the possession of physical strength and elasticity of spirits. Persons of sedentary habits, of melancholy temper, or

feeble constitution, are likely to suffer severe disappointment. A strong arm and a small capital are indispensably necessary to those who wish to become at once the owners of land. If a man has sons able to work, he may, of course, beneficially employ them; but the price of labour is so high, as to render it impossible, with moderate means, to hire assistance in the laborious occupation of clearing a new farm. Even all must be done by individual exertion; the bare necessaries of life may, in a year or two, be raised; but these are all that can be expected for a length of time; and it need scarcely be said, that the settler must have money to purchase provisions *until* he can raise them for himself.

To those who are able and willing to labour hard, but who are destitute of capital, the best advice that can be given is, to hire themselves as labourers for the first few years. There is a class of settlers who can afford to give employment to such persons. I refer to gentlemen who have bought cleared land, and are engaged in farming on an extensive scale. The common rate of wages will enable a careful man, in a few years, to purchase and clear land for himself. If life and health are continued, labour and privation are sure to be ultimately rewarded with competence and comfort. But it must be confessed, that the present state of these Colonies affords encouragement chiefly to the worldly and the irreligious portion of the community. The man who counts all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ—who values divine ordinances himself, and wishes to see his children cast in their lot with the people of God—will hesitate and tremble before he determines to go where the stated services of the sanctuary are not yet to be found; and where even the enjoyment of private christian fellowship may be altogether unattainable. If it were practicable for the members of a church to emigrate in a body, taking their pastor with them, these disadvantages might be obviated. Or even, if a small company of Christian people, accustomed to agricultural pursuits, could unite and settle near each other, they

would find it beneficial to their spiritual interests. But many difficulties would attend such a scheme, arising from the variety of interests and of temper to be met with, even among real Christians. No consistent disciple of Christ can reside any where without shedding a hallowed influence around him; and though such individuals must sacrifice much of their own comfort and edification, the increase of their numbers would, undoubtedly, be a great blessing to the Colonies. If, in coming here, they conscientiously follow the path of duty, as far as mature deliberation can enable them to ascertain it, they may be assured that "the great Shepherd of the sheep" will not overlook or forget them. Though poverty and hardship may, for a while, prevent their making those efforts for the establishment of his cause, which they would wish to employ, yet, sooner or later, their prayers shall come in remembrance before God; "the forest shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be counted as a forest."

REPORT RESPECTING CANADA.

When we left England, it was not our intention to visit the British Colonies. The mission that we had to accomplish in the United States has already come before the reader. The claims made upon us were exceedingly numerous, and the time allotted to the discharge of our duties was so limited, that it was hardly possible to add to the services which we had already undertaken, without lengthening our visit to America, and putting ourselves to considerable inconvenience. Two deputations, however, from the Canadas, visited us at New York in May. They expressed their strong desire that, before we left the United States, we should visit them, and obtain in the Colonies themselves information respecting their present religious condition. They also stated their conviction, that the present circumstances of the two provinces had produced a crisis in their religious affairs; and required, on that account, especial attention from the friends of religion in England. In addition to the urgent requests of the brethren who called on us, they brought with them communications from ministers, missionaries, members of churches, and others, pressing us to visit the Canadas. All that we could do at that time was, to promise to attend to their requests, if in our power.

The object proposed by such a visit we viewed as most important. We felt for our countrymen, and wished, if possible, to do them good. We had frequently heard, from unquestionable authority, of the religious destitution of the Colonies. We were within a few hundred miles of them, and might by personal inquiry

obtain information; and by conveying this to Christians in England, perhaps furnish additional reasons for attending to their pressing necessities. These claims, united with others, we could not resist. Accordingly, by postponing to the autumn some previously-formed arrangements, and lengthening our visit by two or three weeks, we succeeded in devoting to the Canadas the greater part of the month of June. It was, of course, impracticable for us to see much of the interior, or newly-settled districts; but we decided on visiting the principal towns, for the purpose of meeting with ministers and missionaries who preached in the interior, in order to obtain from them statistical and other information likely to guide us in our estimate of the religious condition of the provinces. To secure this important aid, we forwarded letters to Montreal and Toronto, before we left New England, requesting our friends in those places to bring together as many of those laborious men who were engaged in the newly-settled districts as could be conveniently assembled.

We visited Quebec, Montreal, Brockville, Kingston, and Toronto. In all these places we met with ministers and others. And having no other object in view but to ascertain the truth, we were ready to receive information from every quarter where it was likely to be found.

Every where we were received with christian kindness and frank hospitality. The friends who had invited us received us gladly. Various circumstances which have since transpired, have led us to believe that we were providentially directed as to the time of our visit; and that, while we were put in possession of many facts relative to the Canadas, we in some measure gratified our christian friends, who were glad to see two brethren from the land of their fathers. We rejoiced also in having had the opportunity of meeting with so many Christians of different denominations, who appeared desirous of promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom in the two provinces, of consulting with them freely and fully, as to the best methods of supplying the numerous

districts of the country, still destitute of the preaching of the gospel, with the means of grace. We now proceed to arrange the information which we received, and to state the conclusion to which it has brought us.

In doing this, it is desirable to commence by giving, as far as could be ascertained, the Religious Statistics of the Canadas. The population of the Lower Province is now estimated at 600,000 souls. Of that number 460,000 are considered Roman Catholics. The remaining 140,000 are Protestants of different religious denominations. The number of religious teachers belonging to each class is as follows:—

LOWER CANADA.—Population 600,000.

460,000 Roman Catholics have 150 Priests.

140,000 Protestants have 68 Ministers, belonging to the following denominations:—

	Clergy.
Episcopalians.....1 Bishop.....	28
Scottish Church.....	12
Other Presbyterians.....	5
Methodists.....	9
Baptists.....	4
Congregationalists.....	4
Missionaries of different Sects, as far as could be found out...	6
Total Ministers.....	68

Besides the above ministers, there are, in the eastern townships, where there is now a population of forty or fifty thousand persons, several small Baptist congregations, called "Freewill Baptists." But among them are to be found only two or three regular preachers.

The above enumeration gives less than one minister to every two thousand souls. But this calculation by no means affords a correct view of the real state of the Colony. More than one half of the whole number of preachers is to be found in the cities and towns. In such places, the proportion may be more than one minister for two thousand Protestants, but this leaves a still smaller number for the townships newly settled. When it is also considered that the population of these districts is widely scattered, and that, in addition to this, the

roads are exceedingly imperfect, we cannot but perceive that, with such a small number of preachers, the religious destitution of the people must be very great. There are thousands, indeed, who never hear a sermon. The testimony of an agent of the American Sunday School Union was to this effect:—that his visits had extended to twenty-five townships in the eastern districts; only ten of which, however, had been particularly examined by him, and Sunday schools formed in them by his exertions. Each township is ten miles square, or a hundred square miles. In the ten which he had especially investigated, he found three ministers labouring among the people, and they could not furnish much instruction in such an extensive country, where the settlers were so widely separated. In some places which these ministers occasionally visit, the people do not hear a sermon for six months, others for a much longer time. Indeed there is one township which has been settled five years, where no sermon has ever yet been preached; and in another, which has been settled a much longer time, there has been no preaching for seven years!

One missionary stated to us, that he laboured in six stations—a considerable distance from each other, and that he deeply regretted his inability to extend his exertions further into the new townships, which were, in an especial manner, destitute of instruction. They were without schools, without ministers, and without the ordinances of Christianity. The consequences were what might have been expected. The people were becoming depraved and disorderly, and, in some quarters, almost degenerating into a state of barbarism.

All these facts refer to the nominally Protestant part of the population. We have named the number of ministers. If we consider that one minister or missionary to about 500 souls in such a scattered population is not more than sufficient, then it may be said, that there is hardly one sixth of the supply that should be provided for the religious instruction of the people, for there is not in those districts one regular minister or missionary

to 3000 souls. We have not, in our estimate of this religious destitution, taken into account the non-efficiency of some of those who are included in our list of ministers, and who are supported by the government grant. It is enough to say, that if zealous, faithful, self-denying, and devoted men, are needed for such a peculiar field of labour, then *these* men are not suitable. If Lower Canada had been left to depend on them for religious instruction, it would have been in a far worse condition than it is at present. Those faithful men, of different denominations, who have been supported by individuals and societies in this country, have been the chief agents in keeping the inland districts from entire moral desolation.

But there is another view to take of the religious condition of the Lower Province, still more distressing than even the one which we have just given. Inadequate as the means of instruction are among the Protestants, still there is some scriptural knowledge, and opportunities of improvement. There can also be found, in the habitations of those who seldom hear a sermon, Bibles and useful books, which point out to men the way of salvation. But it is well known that scriptural instruction is entirely kept back from more than 400,000 Roman Catholics. The great object of their priests is, to retain them in the errors and superstitions of Popery. The peasantry are in general a quiet and contented race; but grossly ignorant, not only of the great doctrines of Christianity, but even of the first rudiments of knowledge, very few of them being able to read. They are entirely under the spiritual domination of man, blindly attached to the worst corruptions of Christianity. No ray of scriptural light has yet penetrated the thick darkness that surrounds that part of the population. The Scriptures are excluded, and Protestant teachers are not allowed to instruct the ignorant, if the priests can prevent it; and their power over the minds of the people is almost omnipotent. Some years ago a French Protestant, acting as a missionary under the patronage of the

Methodist denomination, made an attempt to instruct them; but he was repulsed in such a manner, by the efforts of the priests, that he did not remain long among them.

With the above exception, this vast multitude of human beings—our fellow-subjects—are left completely in the power of a debasing and destructive system of superstition, without any effort being made to free them from this spiritual thraldom; one generation after another passing away, without those great doctrines of the Reformation being proclaimed among them, which we deem essential to human happiness.

Upper Canada is estimated to contain at this time about 320,000 inhabitants, of which number very few are Roman Catholics. The number of ministers of different Protestant denominations, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows:—

	Clergy.
Episcopalians	40
Methodists	50
Presbyterians of different Sects	34
Baptists	30
Congregationalists	6
Total Ministers to 320,000 souls	160

The above number gives nominally one minister to 2000 souls. The remark, however, which applies to Lower Canada, does so with peculiar force to the Upper Province. Three fourths, or at least one half, of the above number of ministers are fixed in the larger and smaller towns, while the old and new townships, with a scattered population, have only the services of the remainder. The denomination which acts systematically on the plan of itinerancy, is the Methodist. The Baptists and Congregationalists do so partially. When the latter sects employ missionaries, their labours are more extended, each one embracing as his preaching-station a large district of country. One of these good men pointed out on the map eight townships, containing

a rapidly-increasing population, without religious instruction, except the preaching of a Methodist itinerant now and then. He had been an active labourer in the work of village-preaching in Scotland, but he described his present fatigues and privations as being much greater than any he had before experienced. He seemed to feel much interested in his field of labour; but it was so vast, that his heart almost sunk within him at the prospect before him, for he found his strength utterly unable to answer the numerous calls made upon him for assistance. He had visited a good many townships occasionally, besides those in which he regularly preached, and his conviction was, that imperfect as the services of the Methodists necessarily were, the province was indebted for much of the religious profession that now existed in it to these exertions.

But even with these exertions, and the zeal of others, the Upper Province presents a melancholy picture of religious destitution. The population is rapidly increasing by emigration, and no means are used to meet this increase, by providing additional religious teachers. The evil, therefore, becomes greater every year. At this time it is sufficiently great to excite the sympathy, and call for the immediate aid of British Christians. In some of the new settlements on Lake Ontario, and in those formed by the Canadian Land Company, places of worship have been built, and Episcopalian or Presbyterian ministers have been settled. All these, however, are included in the number we have already mentioned. But it is to the back settlements, some of them far in the interior, that our most compassionate regards should be directed. Their population is thinly scattered, but this very circumstance places them beyond the reach of the few missionaries who would help them if they could. Their peculiar privations, too, would make religious ordinances the more valuable to them. The effects produced are the same as in other places where the gospel is not preached—irreligion, vice, and intemperance prevail. Many of the settlers in the more distant townships

seem almost to have forgotten that there is a Sabbath, or, if the day is remembered, it is not as a day of rest, or of holy convocation.

Another consequence of this religious destitution is, the neglect of the education of their children. The Colonial Legislature engages to give twenty pounds a year, to assist in the support of a schoolmaster, if the settlers collect twenty children, and procure a teacher. But as many of the parents do not much value education, and the labour of their children, especially if they are sons, is so much needed on their farms, applications for the government grant are comparatively few. And in cases where aid is sought and given, the children only attend school a few months in the year. There is also a great difficulty in obtaining suitable teachers. The sum allowed by the Government is small; and any thing that may be furnished in addition by the parents, comes in the shape of board and lodging, and not of money. Even when schoolmasters are obtained, it cannot be expected that, in a country where land is so cheap, and manual labour is so valuable, that they will continue teachers, when the remuneration for their labours is so trifling, and they can, as common farm-servants, succeed better in securing a suitable income. In consequence of this circumstance, there is a great deficiency of instructers in the common branches of education. The Legislature, as we have seen, offers to assist. Besides this pecuniary aid, school-houses are built, in convenient situations, in the new townships. The intentions of the Government are, however, rendered useless, in many instances, by the indifference of the parents, and the impracticability of procuring suitable men as teachers. No Government can well remove these, in a country like Canada. Even a normal school would fail, if the teachers trained in it found, on trial, an inadequate return for the exercise of their time and talents; and they would soon direct their attention to a more profitable employment. Only men of a missionary spirit would continue to act in such circumstances; and these are not to be

found in that country at present. Another evil results from the absence of ministers: few Sunday schools exist. These, in many cases, might have been a substitute for week-day schools, and have supplied many children with the elements of knowledge.

Such are the circumstances of both provinces. The moral destitution is plain, and our criminal neglect of our brethren in the Colonies is equally apparent. No one can imagine that such a state of things would have existed at this time, if the Christians of Britain had done their duty. We have hitherto failed: may we, for the future, be anxious, by redoubled activity, to make up for our past neglect of those who, as countrymen, have a powerful claim from us for immediate attention!

It may now be proper to state the various ways in which the present ministers were furnished; and, as we have already ascertained how inadequate the supply is to the necessities of the country, it will become a question, what should now be done to remedy this growing evil?

When the Canadas came into the possession of the British Crown, the Roman Catholic religion was the established one; and it continued, under the protection and by the direct sanction of the British Government, to be the established religion of Lower Canada. All their former rights were secured to the Popish clergy. The tithe of the land is theirs, and they possess property of great value in other ways. As Protestants increased in number, in consequence of the English taking possession of the country, some Episcopalian ministers were sent out, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Application was subsequently made to the Government at home for assistance; which was given in the shape of an annual grant to the Society, who appropriated it at their discretion. The persons sent out by them were called missionaries. As the population increased, particularly in Upper Canada, persons of other religious persuasions settled in the country. Ministers of other denominations

were sent for. Some went in consequence of these invitations; and others went out on speculation, not knowing where they might be settled. These persons were supported, partly by individuals and societies in this country, and partly by the people themselves, without any aid from Government. But the supply produced from all these various sources is, as we have already stated, totally inadequate.

With regard to Upper Canada, a different plan was pursued by the home government. This province not having been occupied in the same way as the other, by the Roman Catholic church, an Episcopal establishment was formed, as far, at least, as that could be done, by the appropriation of land, in every township, to the exclusive support of clergymen of the Church of England. These portions of land were called Clergy Reserves. But as the numbers and influence of other denominations increased, and began to exceed those of the government, jealousy and dissatisfaction were excited. Two causes contributed to this result. One was, that the Government patronized one denomination exclusively; and the other was, the local injury done by many of the clergy reserves remaining unsold and uncultivated; these, too, lying often in the midst of plantations, and compelling the settlers to make those improvements entirely at their own expense, a proportion of which should have been borne by the owners of the clergy's land. Both these causes of discontent continued to increase, as the number of other sects still became greater, and land in the older townships became more valuable. In addition to these things, there was the spectacle constantly presented to the settlers, of land being appropriated to persons or purposes which brought no return to them, in the way of religious instruction; that they were not only injured by this plan for supporting religion, but they had, after all, to seek religious instructers for themselves, and to support them at their own expense. Those who belonged to the church of Scotland, considered that they were treated unjustly, and stated, by petitions and re-

monstrances to the Government at home, their grievances and claims. Those in possession, of course, defended their rights. Thus, two rival establishments contended for the state support. Disputes have run high between the different parties, and no party seems pleased with the decision come to by the Government, viz. that the clergy reserves should be sold, and the proceeds of the sale funded; the interest to be appropriated to religious purposes. With regard to the grant of money from the British Government, that has been partly withdrawn, and in a year or two will entirely cease. Those denominations who conscientiously objected to all such plans for supporting religion, became every day more and more convinced of the utter failure of the government scheme for supplying the Colony with religious instruction, and used means to provide ministers for themselves. But the great majority of the settlers, who, during the last twenty years, have rapidly arrived in the country, are indifferent on the subject of religion. The comparatively small number who value religious privileges, have invited a few ministers from England and Scotland, who are now settled, and doing good; but these, as stated before, are chiefly to be found in the large towns. The Methodists early exerted themselves, and were among the first who carried the gospel into the newly settled districts. But no one society or denomination has sent out so many missionaries as the Episcopalian Institution, which we already named. Too many of these individuals, however, have been perfectly inefficient (to say no more) in extending the knowledge of Christianity to the destitute townships. They have occupied the spots to which they were appointed; but few of them, indeed, have acted as missionaries of the Cross. But if every one had exerted himself to the utmost, the number was inadequate to supply the religious necessities of the population, even though it had remained stationary.

These are the means which have been hitherto employed for the religious interests of both provinces.

Even if all the ministers, furnished in the different ways that we have stated, were devoted to the work of evangelists, "spending and being spent," in seeking the salvation of men, there would not be one fourth of the number which the extent of the country and the scattered nature of its population require. But then it ought to be known, in order that the real state of the case may appear, that not more than one half of all the ministers do act as itinerants; and that a large proportion of those who are paid by the Government, are totally indifferent as to any moral and religious results, beyond their own little circle. The case thus assumes an importance, which, at first sight, might not seem to belong to it. Only let the mind contemplate the actual extent of the country, and the need of more teachers will be evident. This immense territory, larger when estimated in square miles, than the United States of America, is now settled for more than a thousand miles in length, and from twenty to two hundred miles in breadth; a far larger space than that which Great Britain includes.

Now for the question. Are there any plans which are likely to supply the deficiency we have described? In reply, we would say, that it must either be supplied by the efforts of the colonists themselves, by voluntary aid from the mother country, or by the co-operation of both.

With regard to the first plan, it may be said, that if it is left to the colonists to supply themselves, it will not be done. There is reason to fear, that a majority of the settlers are not religious persons, and, therefore, care comparatively little about the ordinances of religion. Besides, many of them leave their native land, struggling with difficulties, in order to provide an asylum and support for themselves and their families. The property they have is soon exhausted in the purchase of land, and they have nothing left to assist in providing religious instruction. In such circumstances, it is not to be expected that any attempt will be made to obtain pastors or missionaries.

The only persons in the Colonies, who are likely to interest themselves in this matter, are the Christians living in the cities and towns of both provinces. And it is but justice to them to say, that they have made various attempts to benefit their brethren. The Methodists have done this to some extent. The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society has done as much for Lower Canada, as its limited resources would allow. All these efforts, however, feeble as they have been, were not made without foreign aid. The Methodists receive grants from their Missionary Society in England. The Canada Education Society received more than half the amount of its expenditure for 1833, from the United States of America. The American Home Missionary Society has also given grants to one or two missionaries labouring in the eastern townships. While the American Bible Society has granted 4200 Bibles and Testaments, and the American Sunday School Union, 4000 volumes, to form Sunday school libraries in the same district of country.

Neither does it appear practicable, in the present state of the Colonies, that any institution should be formed there for the education of pious young men, as ministers or missionaries. It would be difficult to find a sufficient number of suitable candidates for the ministry, even if funds were in their possession. As far, then, as we can judge from the present condition of the Colonies and the character of their population, there does not exist any reason to suppose that the colonists can furnish themselves with the means of religious instruction.

Assistance in this work must, therefore, come from some other quarter; and whence is it to be expected but from the mother country? We have the men, and the pecuniary means. All that is required is, a strong conviction of duty, and of the urgency of the case. The most likely plan to benefit these Colonies is, either to form societies in this country for this special purpose, or to add the Canadas to the stations of the existing mis-

sionary institutions, whose province it is to find suitable men. This is the grand point to be secured. Much money has been expended by Government, without any adequate effect; and no better result is to be anticipated, unless there be some plan by which men of a missionary spirit can be obtained and sent. They must not go to Canada, because they cannot succeed at home; but because there is a wider field before them there, and a greater call for exertion. They must be men of ardent piety, warm-hearted zeal, of physical energy, and of persevering habits. Our best men should go; if not those of most popular talents, yet with well-furnished minds—men of discretion, as well as zeal. We repeat it again; it is not so much *the number*, as the *character* of the ministers sent to Canada, that is important. It might be easy to multiply official functionaries, who could formally attend to the ritual of religion. But souls cannot be saved in this way; and instead of a holy and devoted people, which may be expected under suitable and adequate instruction, there would be no more than the lifeless forms of religion, without its power. If, in our own land, where there are many counteracting influences, such teachers are a blight on the efforts of others, and retard the progress of truth; what must it be in colonies, where, in many districts, they would be the only men bearing the name of ministers? We cannot rejoice in the expenditure of funds, drawn from the national purse, to procure such a supply, even if we admitted the correctness of the principle of supporting religion by such a plan. We need not regret the withdrawment of the government grant to the Society already named. It will be no real loss to the Canadas, as not one really efficient man will cease his labours among the people. They become attached to such men, and will struggle to support them; and if there is one denomination in the Colonies better able to do this than another, it is the Episcopalians. Besides, as a greater number of that communion live in the towns, where there is greater wealth, and a more prevailing desire to

attend on the forms of religion, there is less danger of any one of their missionaries being withdrawn, whose character and abilities qualify him for being a minister of Christ. In cases of an opposite description, it may be different; but the Society at home can assist them, till some other mode of support be found out. That such is likely to be the case, with efficient ministers, will appear from the following fact.

In a newly settled town, on Lake Ontario, it was no sooner ascertained that the government grant was about to be withdrawn, than the people immediately subscribed the full amount of the salary which their clergyman had been accustomed to receive from that source. In another case, where an additional minister was required, the people, by voluntary contributions, raised sufficient to support one, who is at this time labouring among them. Nor need there be any fear that it will be different in other places, where there is a sufficient population, and the men are worthy of support.

In cases where the population is small, or the ministers are inefficient, it may still be necessary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to assist. This can easily be done, as their funds are large, or can be readily obtained; so that the number of their missionaries need not be diminished by the withdrawment of the government grant. Indeed, the result is most likely to prove beneficial to Episcopacy, as it will no doubt rouse the Christians of that denomination in this country to assist their brethren in the Colonies. This mode of assistance will be more highly valued by many of the inhabitants, than aid received from Government. We say this, because one fact came to our knowledge. The Colonial Legislature having given annual grants to the Methodists and Presbyterians, the people, of the Upper Province especially, were greatly displeased. Even many persons belonging to those sects were grieved with the circumstance, and threatened to leave their communion, if it was not refused in future. There is a great jealousy of the Government, when it interferes

with religion or its teachers. Voluntary assistance from England would be viewed differently, and received in another spirit. The most likely and unexceptionable mode of supplying the Colonies with the means of religious instruction is, for Christians to send them faithful ministers from this country, and, for a while, to assist in supporting them.

In connexion with this view of the subject, it should be particularly noticed, that those ministers who go out to the Canadas should be entirely devoted to missionary labours. Even the teaching of a school, though otherwise useful, would materially lessen their efficiency; and a farm would occupy most of their strength, and time, and mind. They might purchase farms, and procure a living by their own manual labour, and they might preach occasionally; but a thousand such men would not be equal to a hundred men, whose whole energies and time were consecrated to the religious instruction of the people. No preacher who unites a farm, or other secular employment in the country districts of the Canadas, with ministerial duty, need expect any adequate remuneration from the people for his labours; and he must not expect success in his work. The distances are too great; the roads are in too bad a condition; and the destitution is too deplorable; to warrant the expectation, that farming and preaching can go on together. Neither need a preacher who has a good plantation of his own, expect the hardworking settlers to aid him. If the heart is not vigorously alive to the power of religion, the endurance of hardship is apt to harden it, and produce a spirit of selfishness unfriendly to Christian liberality. The body is the chief concern. To lessen its privations is the main object; and as irreligious men can see no connexion between the gospel and the advancement of their comfort, they will not assist in supporting the former. These observations chiefly refer to those ministers who go to the Canadas on their own responsibility, for the twofold purpose of preaching the gospel, and of providing for a rising family.

With regard to those who are sent out by the aid of Christians in this country, it should be understood, that, while at first the expenses of sending out and supporting such missionaries, should be defrayed by them, this aid is to be furnished only for a time. When congregations are collected, and churches are organized, the assistance should be gradually withdrawn, as this people become able to assist. The amount so saved to be expended in sending out additional missionaries.

In carrying a great object like this into effect, the co-operation of all who love religion in the Colonies is necessary. To secure this, no better mode can be adopted, than to call into exercise their Christian zeal, by the manifestation of it on our own part. Let them see and feel that we are in earnest in helping their destitute countrymen, by sending to them the bread of life; and it will constrain them to make far greater exertions to benefit their neighbours than they have ever yet attempted.

Let it not be supposed, from what we have said, that we wish to undervalue the labours of any, the most obscure of those who are faithful men, to whatever denomination they belong. We forbear mentioning names, lest the distinction might seem invidious. But we are ready to testify to the self-denial, and laborious travels and privations of some whom we met with, and heard of, in that wild country; and we shall ever cherish cordial esteem and admiration of their zeal and perseverance.

While there are many difficulties in that country to overcome, both physical and moral, yet there are some facilities which should not be overlooked, in forming a correct estimate of the duty before us. One is, that the language, of Upper Canada at least, is our own. The new settlements are formed by persons emigrating from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the United States. Among these the English missionary can at once enter on his duties, not among strangers or foreigners, but as among his own countrymen and fellow-subjects. There is full protection given by the Colonial Legislature to those who are trying to do good.

There is also a strong desire, on the part of the well-disposed settlers, to receive religious teachers. Amidst all their privations and poverty, a pious missionary would find, on almost every preaching tour, some family to give him a cordial welcome, and encourage him in his work. There are also to be found in most of the townships which have been some time settled, school-houses. In these the people can assemble, and Sunday schools can be formed. The plan of erecting such buildings is going on, and likely to extend to every township; and as these have been erected for the benefit of the people, they are open to the different religious denominations. So that when a missionary of any sect goes to preach, he has the use of it. When these are not conveniently situated, the houses of the people are opened, to receive the messenger of peace.

The duty of furnishing the colonies with suitable religious instruction, then, devolves on the Christians of this country. It is for them to decide in what way, and to what extent, this assistance is to be given. That we have hitherto been culpable, no one who looks at the present destitution of the Canadas, can for a moment deny. "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." The sin appears so much the greater, when we look at our resources. Had the duty hitherto devolved on one of the smallest of our denominations, unable, perhaps, to extend much aid to any quarter, beyond its own little circle at home, the criminality would have been less. But when it is considered, that the duty of supplying the Canadas with the means of grace has been committed to all the Protestant denominations of Britain, the case assumes a different aspect. Persons from all these communities of Christians have settled in these provinces. They have gone from the congregations of Episcopalians, the societies of Methodists, the churches of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. A necessity was laid upon them to seek support for their rising families. They would gladly have remained at home. No discontent with the civil constitution of their country

drove them away. It appeared to be the path of duty, and trying as it was to leave the loved associations of early life and of matured affection, yet they submitted to the providential arrangement, and went. They have left behind them relatives, friends, and neighbours. They have forsaken external privileges and religious enjoyments, and they and their children are in danger of suffering for lack of knowledge. Look at these claims of country and kindred, of our common humanity, and of Christian duty, and say if the present condition of the Canadas is not a reproach to the Christians of Great Britain.

Should it not be wiped away? We have the power of removing much of the destitution of these Colonies, by exercising that spirit of Christian sympathy which should be felt for our brethren, and sisters, and friends, in a strange land. We cannot send them any boon so valuable as the gospel. The face of a religious teacher will be seen by the best of the colonists as if it were the face of an angel. Let him be a man of established character; let him carry his credentials with him, in the approbation of the Christian churches at home who have sent him forth, and he will at once secure the confidence of the good people in the Colonies. This is the way to bind the provinces to the parent state—to unite them more closely to us than can be done by mere political arrangements; and to secure for generations to come their affection and their gratitude. But to produce these effects, the ministers sent forth must go under the influence of enlightened zeal in their own hearts, and supported by the willing efforts of Christian love in others. The call now made on the Christians of this country is not made on one section of it, but on all its evangelical denominations. The exertions of all will be found necessary, if the necessities of the Colonies are to be adequately supplied. The Christian church of our beloved country must arouse itself to action, and, in the best and most efficient way, unite in one strong *effort*, if not in one great society, to remove these moral desolations.

While we thus consider it the duty of every denomination to be active in this work of Christian benevolence, we would especially urge upon the one with which we are more immediately connected, the peculiar claims which are made on its members. We consider the system of Congregationalism to be scriptural, and well fitted to convey to destitute countries the gospel of Christ, whatever may be the civil policy of those several nations, as it does not interfere with the political arrangements of any land. But, especially, it is fitted for a new and destitute country like the Canadas, where a pressing necessity exists for immediate exertion; for men who could go through the breadth and length of the *country*, unfettered by geographical limits, canonical laws, or conference restrictions, preaching the gospel to all who are willing to hear it; and leaving the people themselves, when converted to God, to decide as to the form of church government which these religious societies should assume. In addition to this, it may be said, that, in many parts of the Canadas, persons holding our sentiments are to be found, and remain still attached to the great principles of civil and religious liberty, which they loved in this country. We cannot, therefore, but earnestly desire, that the zeal of Christians of our order may be awakened in some degree corresponding with the magnitude of the object presented to them.

In closing this Report, we would respectfully and earnestly recommend the destitution of the Canadas to the sympathy, the zeal, and the prayers, of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We feel deeply interested in the condition of our brethren, and we should rejoice to be instrumental in arousing the friends of Christ in this country to do justice to their urgent claims. It is daily becoming more dangerous to neglect these. If succeeding years should witness as much apathy as the past, the people and the country may become alienated from us altogether. Every one acquainted with the state of the Colonies knows that the seeds of discontent are widely scattered. The prevalence of irreligion will

cherish them; and the next generation, if uninstructed in the knowledge of Christ, will become the easy prey of the political demagogue and of the infidel. A regard for our country—for our brethren, separated from us by the wide Atlantic—a regard for our consistency, as the professed friends of religion—a respect for His authority, who has commanded us to "preach the gospel to every creature"—should constrain every one who can assist to put forth his strength. If this be done, in a few years these Colonies would need no aid from us. There would soon spring up among them *native* preachers, and the foundation once laid, by the exertions of British Christians and the Divine blessing, the building would be reared, by the cheerful labours of the Canadian churches of all denominations. The work is before *us* at present —it is plain, imperative, and solemnly important. There are hundreds of thousands waiting on *our* decision. To them it is life or death—to us it will be shame or honour. Let us not shrink from the privilege of doing good, but apply our hand and heart to it, remembering who has said, "Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it."

LETTER IV.

My dear friend,

I am again in the United States. On the 23d we left Toronto, and arrived at Niagara that evening. On the 24th we reached the Falls, a description of which you will find elsewhere; and on the 26th, went to Buffalo. Here Mr. Reed and myself had agreed to separate for a time, in order better to accomplish the objects we respectively had in view. He had resolved to go farther west and south; while I was anxious to secure perhaps the only opportunity I should have of visiting the northern part of Pennsylvania, where my uncle is set-

tled as a Presbyterian minister, as well as to obtain information in other parts of the State.

We agreed to meet, if practicable, either at Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, the last week of July.

On June 27th, we sailed together from Buffalo, in the steamboat, one of the best we have been in. There were on board a number of settlers from New England, bound to the Michigan territory, which is at present a point of attraction to crowds of emigrants. Some of the families with whom we sailed included three generations, and among their goods and chattels were various articles, which looked as if they had descended to them through a line of ancestry much more remote. At the town of Erie, ninety-three miles from Buffalo, I landed, while Mr. Reed proceeded forward to Sandusky. I went to a Temperance House, to which I had been directed, and arrived just in time to witness the conclusion of a prayer meeting, rather a novel sight to me in an inn. Erie, which is in the state of Pennsylvania, contains a population of about 1500, who are well supplied with the means of religious instruction. The Presbyterian congregation, of which the Rev. Mr. Lyons is minister, is the largest in the town, consisting of five hundred hearers. The next in importance is a Seceder congregation, and there is also a Baptist place of worship. The Methodists have preaching in a room. A revival of religion has recently taken place in Mr. Lyons' congregation; about sixty persons have been added to the church, and the state of things at present is very pleasing.*

Owing to the negligence of one of the coach agents, who omitted to put my name in the way-bill, when I sent to secure a place in the stage, I was unable to proceed on my journey, on the morning of the 28th, as I had expected. This was the only instance of such a disappointment which I have yet met with in America; and it was greatly aggravated by the perfect indifference of the agent, and his refusal to facilitate my getting on

*Appendix.

in any other way. I found that I should actually save time, and also be more certain of a conveyance, by returning to Buffalo, which I therefore did in the course of the day. I had before refused an invitation to spend the Sabbath there; but being now so unexpectedly brought back, I was anxious that this derangement of my plans should be turned to some good account.

On Sabbath morning, I attended the Presbyterian church, and heard the Rev. Mr. Eaton; and afterwards visited the Sunday school, where I found about one hundred and fifty children. The method of conducting it is very similar to our own. It is held under the church. The plan of having a room underneath, seems to be very generally adopted in the new places of worship where we have been. These rooms generally extend to the whole area of the building. They are used for Sabbath schools and weekly lectures. I preached in the afternoon; and again in the evening, to young persons in particular, notice having been previously given to that effect. A large number of them were assembled. Here, as elsewhere, the friends of the Redeemer rejoice that our Congregational Union has commenced a friendly interchange of delegates with the American churches.

Monday, 30*th*.—I can hardly describe the fatigues of this day. Early in the morning, my route lay along the well-known *Corduroy* road, between Buffalo and Batavia, which has been a subject of complaint to so many travellers. I could not have imagined it possible to make any road so bad. Great trees are laid across, by no means uniform in shape or size; and the interstices not being filled up, the shaking of the vehicle is almost intolerable. We took ten hours to reach Batavia, though only forty miles distant. The road, after that, was somewhat better, though our progress was still slow; but, even at the worst part, yet the scenery around was so interesting, as to beguile, in some measure, the tediousness of our progress. After leaving Batavia, we passed through Stafford, where there are many English settlers.

They seem to be good farmers. The corn (Indian) was about eighteen inches high. We saw some beautiful fields of wheat and oats. The walls of many of the cottages were adorned with a profusion of roses, which looked quite English. We dined at Canandaigua, which is considered one of the handsomest country towns in this State, (New York,) and certainly excels any other that I have seen. The principal street is 150 feet wide, and extends for nearly two miles; though the houses are not yet built all the way on both sides.

I arrived at Geneva in the evening; and soon after called on the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. E. Phelps, whom I had met with in the General Assembly at Philadelphia. I found him both able and willing to give me all the information I desired respecting the moral and religious condition of the place. Its advantages are very considerable. The population is nearly four thousand; and there are eight places of worship, of different denominations, all evangelical but one, which is Universalist. About 2300 of the inhabitants attend public worship, besides 800 Sunday-school children.* Gratuitous instruction is provided during the week, sufficient for all the children in the town; so that no child need remain untaught, if the parents are willing to send him to school.

The situation of Geneva is very delightful. It stands at the northern extremity of Seneca Lake, on ground which rises gradually from the water's edge to a considerable elevation. The principal street is very spacious, and extends for more than a mile. It is planted with trees on each side; and the houses are built with considerable taste. There are some affecting and interesting associations connected with this neighbourhood. Within a few miles, is the place which was the seat of government of the Seneca Indians, or rather of the Six Nations. Various spots are pointed out, as the scenes of warfare between the whites and the Indians; and there

* Appendix.

is a fort, which belonged to the latter, still standing, a short way from the town. One cannot think of the wrongs inflicted on them, without the most painful emotions. No doubt the country now enjoys the blessings of religion and civilization, which it might not have done, had it remained in the hands of its original possessors. But this can never justify the means employed to dispossess them of their native rights and inheritance.

The names of the town and the lake awaken very incongruous recollections. That of the latter, however, is not classical, as might, at first, be supposed. It was, as already hinted, the name of an Indian tribe. And yet, perhaps, by the law of association, it suggested the many names of ancient places, poets, and heroes, which abound in this part of the State. We find Brutus and Cassius; Homer, Virgil, and Ovid; Marathon, Pharsalia, Ithaca, &c. But these are matters of little consequence; and it is now impossible to gratify any curious inquiries on the subject.

I was sorry to find that, in this part of the State, the ministers are so frequently changing the scene of their pastoral labours. The fault may sometimes be in themselves; but, from conversations I have had on the subject, I am inclined to believe that the people are fond of change. Whether the system of the Methodists may have assisted in producing this state of things, I cannot say. I should rather attribute the love of novelty to the new measures, carried out to an extravagant length, and now cautiously employed by the best and most judicious advocates of revivals. On this journey, I was surprised to learn from a minister, who has only been installed six years in his present situation, that, out of thirty members of his Presbytery, he had been the longest settled. Another gentleman with whom I conversed, a judge, and one of the shrewdest men I have met with, justified the practice of ministers and churches frequently dissolving their connexion with each other. He seemed quite prepared to give his reasons for the opinion

which he held, and urged them with considerable plausibility. He defended his views, on the ground that no man should be confined to one sphere of labour—that the field is the world, and wherever his services are most needed, there he should go. He thought that no people should be influenced by their partialities or affections in a matter like this: that they should not receive the truth more favourably from one man than from another. His arguments were combated, on the ground that the duties of the pastoral relation cannot be performed aright, when frequent changes take place. He was told that his plan must destroy, or at least weaken, the moral influence, which a pastor may acquire by long continued labours, connected with a consistent character; that the truth, delivered to a people by a man of God whom they knew, under whose ministry they had grown up, who had probably been the instrument of their conversion, who had sympathized with them in seasons of joy and of sorrow,—was more likely to affect them, than the same truth coming from the lips of a comparative stranger. But this good man could see no force in any of these considerations; neither did he admit, what was farther affirmed, that, next to the statement of truth itself, is the importance of adapting it to the temptations and failings, the duties and trials, of the flock.

The above remarks apply, with yet greater force, to the plan, so frequenttly adopted in this part of the country, of *hiring* a minister for a limited period—a year, or half a year. This must be injurious to all parties. It degrades the ministerial character; it tends to unsettle the mind of a minister; and it cannot but produce a captious, cavilling spirit among the people. Far from promoting that impartial spirit, in which the truth of God should be received, it appears to me likely to draw the attention away from the truth preached, to the various gifts and talents of those who preach it.

But though many are like-minded with the individual mentioned above, I have no reason to think that such sentiments will continue to prevail. The distinction

between a Pastor and an Evangelist is becoming better understood. There are places in this State where the pastoral relation can hardly be sustained, owing to the scattered character of the population, and their inability to support the ministry of the gospel. In such circumstances, the labours of an evangelist, or itinerant, are suitable and invaluable. But when the state of society becomes settled, and the church is able to support a minister, another class of men is required. The interests of every church require the wise and persevering superintendence of an overseer. And the improvement of the minister, as well as that of the people, will be promoted by his permanent connexion with them.

The evil complained of might be materially lessened by the friendly and seasonable advice of neighbouring ministers and churches, who observe and deplore it. Such Christian counsel has already been, in several instances, successfully employed.

LETTER V.

My dear Friend,

I left Geneva early on the morning of the 1st, in a steamboat that sails daily during the summer, on Seneca Lake. I suppose it does so also in the winter, as the water never freezes so as to prevent navigation. The springs are numerous, which accounts for this circumstance. The lake is a beautiful sheet of water, about forty miles in length, and from one to two miles in breadth. The sail was delightful. On both sides the ground rises gradually, to the height of two or three hundred feet. In various places the woods are cleared away, and settlements made. The progress of civilization was seen in immediate contrast with the wildness of nature; and the eye could command the scene from

the lake, better than in most other situations. A stage was in waiting to convey the passengers to Elmira. We were five hours in going twenty-three miles. The country was hilly, and the road in bad condition. As the evening approached, the brilliancy of the fire-flies increased. When it became quite dark, the scene was beautiful. The atmosphere was moist and warm. This, no doubt, brought out a greater number of these insects. Innumerable sparks were glimmering in every direction, and flitting with the quickness of lightning.

I remained all night at Elmira. I had secured a resting place at the inn, and made arrangements for the night; but the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. M. L. Farnsworth, *compelled* me to receive his hospitality. My name and mission were familiar to him, and I found myself at once in the dwelling of a friend. Having so many religious newspapers, information is circulated in all directions through the United States; so that if the deputation had travelled to the farthest West and South, the object of the mission, and the hospitality of the people, would at once have secured a cordial reception.

Elmira contains a scattered population of three thousand persons. There are four places of worship, viz. Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. The Sunday scholars are four hundred. The communicants are about five hundred; the regular congregations about twelve hundred. There is a Temperance Society, which has been the means of reclaiming some notorious drunkards. It consists of four hundred members.

I left on the morning of the 2d, in a private conveyance, for Athens. An incident occurred during the journey, which, in my non-adventurous life, might be called an adventure. It will amuse the young people to learn, that I encountered a rattlesnake. No harm, however, resulted to me, or to any one else, except to the creature itself. It might, no doubt, have proved rather a serious matter, and I wish to view it as a providential deliverance.

We had proceeded about half way, and were travelling

along a part of the road called the *Narrowing*. On the left there was a perpendicular rock, about a hundred feet in height; and on the right hand, was the river *Shemung*, about fifteen feet below us, and rather deep at that place. The young man who drove the carriage suddenly drew up the reins, exclaiming, "There is a snake before us;" and in a moment added, "It is a rattlesnake." He instantly proposed to kill it. There seemed a necessity for doing so, as there was no way by which we could pass it, the road was so narrow, and the fore-feet of the horse were within two feet of the reptile. Our chief danger was that of the horse becoming frightened, and throwing us into the river beneath. We got out; I held the reins, after drawing the horse a little backwards, while my companion struck the snake with his whip. He did not succeed; and it began to coil itself and rattled; but before it could spring at him, he had struck it again and stunned it. It was then easily despatched. It was about three feet in length, and beautifully spotted. It had eight rings, or rattles, and was consequently about eleven years old. This little incident led me to look more narrowly at the sides of the road. It was, perhaps, owing to this circumstance that I did happen to see a greater number of what are called garter snakes, and a larger kind called the black snake, both, however, quite harmless.

I arrived at Towanda, where I remained all night. On the 3d of July, I arrived at Orwell, and I need only say, that my relatives were much delighted to see me. After a separation of twenty-six years, it was not surprising that we were unable to recognize each other. I found that my relation occupied a very interesting field of pastoral labour, in the midst of an intelligent and pious, though unpolished people. His parish (for the divisions are frequently called by that name) is nearly six miles square. I am glad of this retirement, after the excitement and fatigue of public meetings and journeyings. A few days would be of great service if I could only be kept quiet. Of this, however, I have, at present.

little hope; for public engagements are already made for me, for nearly every day that I am to be here. My present feelings are of a mingled character. Of course, the days of other years have been reviewed, and the names and characters of many valued friends, who are now at rest, have come before the mind.

Yesterday (4th July) was to me a day of trial, and of duty. You may recollect, when now reminded, that one of the greatest days of the year, in this country, is that on which the "Declaration of Independence" was signed. It is variously commemorated, according to the taste and feelings of the people. The common way, some years ago, was to have public meetings to have the Declaration read; after which, some youthful orator would deliver a bombastic declamation on the subjects of tyranny, oppression, injustice, freedom, and so forth. The minds of the hearers being predisposed, it was not, perhaps, very difficult to produce feelings of resentment and jealousy against Great Britain. *Now*, there is a change for the better. It is, indeed, still considered desirable by many that there should be meetings, and that the Declaration should be read, but in connexion with religious services, or Temperance Society anniversaries. In these ways good may result from the observance of the day. Others are beginning to think that it is neither wise nor proper thus to give a yearly provocation to cherish alienated feelings. They are of opinion, that respect for their national dignity, and regard for the "Father Land," may be better shown by forgetting, than by remembering, the harsh deeds of former generations.

I was invited to give an address on the *Fourth of July!* I refused. The request was repeated, with the additional argument, that it was a religious service they wanted. I consented, after telling them that I must state the truth, and it would be their own fault if they found it unpleasant. I need not describe the whole service. It was strictly religious, except the reading of the Declaration, in which I had no share, as you may suppose. I found it rather difficult to address them after

such a manifesto. It was a new scene, and a new duty to me; and while attempting to arrange my thoughts, I found myself annoyed by a brisk firing of rifles, and by the shouts of assembling youth at no great distance. I tried, however, to improve the occasion for doing good. I adverted to the peculiarity of my situation as a British subject, and the object of my coming to this country. Considering that it was on a mission of peace, I could not but regret to hear a subject introduced which was calculated to excite angry and tumultuous feelings. I asked them if they loved their liberty, their institutions, and their country. If they did, surely, then, patriotism might be kept alive, without an annual recitation of evils they had endured fifty or sixty years ago. And if the rising generation were properly instructed in the great principles of liberty and justice, they would hate oppression, and be sufficiently courageous in defending their rights. I hinted that there was a danger of the day becoming simply a commemoration of a *political* event, without connecting with it the goodness of God in conferring upon them civil and religious privileges—that they might be looking to the *men* of the revolution rather than to God, whose hand alone had secured their deliverance. I wished them to view it as an evil omen, when mere orators, statesmen, and politicians, commemorated the day in such a manner, as to excite irritated feelings against a country to which they were under innumerable obligations, and the inhabitants of which could not *now* wish them to be subject to British dominion, but rather rejoiced in their liberty and prosperity. I expressed my hope, that *if* it was necessary to remember the day, it would be a religious commemoration—a day of praise—of devout acknowledgment, for their many and peculiar advantages. And that while they recorded national mercies, each individual would be led to consider his own obligations to the God of Providence, and thus strengthen every motive that could urge him to be useful. I ventured to point out their dangers, their privileges, their responsibilities, as a people. I glanced

at their prospects—bright, if they sought the favour of God—dark, if religious knowledge was not spread, or if God's work, his cause, and glory, were neglected.

I closed by describing the feelings that should be cherished by the people of England and America towards each other, especially by the *Christians* of both countries. We wished to witness their prosperity, and looking at the position we occupied in relation to each other, it appeared as if we had thus become connected for the most important purposes. Of one blood, one language, and one faith, our religious institutions, our commercial pursuits and enterprises, resembling each other, the two nations seemed prepared for uniting to bless the world. This was our high destiny, and could we lose sight of it by *again* proclaiming war against each other? I stated my conviction, that if the Christians of both countries did their duty as the friends of peace, war was impossible between them. That it was an excess of folly, even for nations not professedly christian, to appeal to physical force, like the beasts of the forest, to avenge their quarrels; what must then be the folly and guilt of professedly Christian nations, thus to shed each other's blood? And that all these considerations, which might in ordinary cases prove the criminality of war, had tenfold force in regard to England and America, united by so many ties, I expressed a hope that soon it would be decided, by the good sense and right feeling of the people, that the ceremony of that day was uncalled for, either by the situation of America, or the condition and designs of Britain. That while the document would remain on the page of their national history, to be seen and read in after days by their descendants, the present generation could do without it. Not that they were indifferent to liberty, but secure of it; not that they could forget their sufferings and their deliverance, but remember them with other feelings than those of resentment, and forgive what man had done, in token of their gratitude to Almighty God.

I did not forget to hint at the necessity of consistency

in the love of liberty ; and that while they valued their own, they should remember that their country was *not free* while slavery existed in it.

I then concluded, by addressing the irreligious, and pointed them to Christ. I referred to the inconsistency of celebrating the day, as connected with their political liberty, and that it would testify against them if they remained satisfied with mental and spiritual bondage.

I quite expected that my address would give offence. There was a large congregation, and they gave me their attention. I found afterwards that they were not displeased, but, on the contrary, reciprocated the kind wishes and desires expressed about the union of affection, and the Christian co-operation that should exist between the two countries. This is, as you know, the only instance in which I have given you such particulars respecting what *I* said ; and I have done so on this occasion for two reasons. The first is, to convince you that I did not forget I was a Briton, nor compromise my principles ; the second is, to show you that this people are willing to hear the truth, even though it reproves them, if it be stated in a spirit of respect and kindness.

My impression is, with regard to this celebrated day, that some attend to it merely for political purposes, without much real love to their country. Many do so, because they think it right to remind their children of the early struggles of their country for liberty ; and many more observe it from the mere force of habit and custom.

I have no doubt whatever that it does great harm in many ways. It promotes intemperance, by bringing multitudes together for jovial purposes ; it produces emotions in many minds, that are improper and anti-christian, and such as no Christian or wise legislator should encourage in the young population of a rising country. The safety and prosperity of America will not be found in its warlike propensities, or in jealousy of the land from whence they spring. The security and happiness of this land will rest on her peaceful character,

on her moral elevation, on her Christian enterprise. Let these predominate, and she is invincible.

I had an interesting meeting to-day with an aged man. He was quite patriarchal in his character and appearance. He was the first settler in this district, and came to it about forty years ago. I have not yet told you that this county (Bradford) is comparatively newly settled. The forests in some places stand in all their original gloominess and grandeur. I have already seen the progress, from the first girdling of the trees, in order to prepare them for burning and cutting down, to the regular operations of the well-cleared farm. I have made an engagement with the patriarch of the district, who has promised to describe to me the history of his settling in this neighbourhood. If I have time to give it to you, it will show you the difficulties, physical and spiritual, with which early settlers have to contend.

The spot where I now write is the highest ground in this neighbourhood, and commands an extensive survey of the surrounding country. The cleared parts are not very numerous, and therefore the extent of forest is considerable. About eight miles distant there is a range of hills of moderate elevation, the base of which is watered by the Susquehannah; and in other directions the spires of places of public worship appear, for even in this comparative wilderness, "the sound of the church-going bell" is to be heard.

To-morrow is the Sabbath. There are two places of worship in which my relative officiates for the accommodation of the more distant settlers. It is in the one furthest off that we shall worship then. I am glad to find that the people are well supplied with the means of religious instruction.*

* See Appendix.

LETTER VI.

My dear friend,

I have now had an opportunity of spending a Sabbath in the country, and of seeing the ordinary routine of religious services, in the midst of an agricultural population. I do enjoy the country, on the Sabbath especially, when there is no visible profanity to pain the mind, but, on the contrary, every thing to indicate that the ordinances of religion are prized, and that the sanctuary is loved.

We proceeded, at the customary time, to the meeting-house, (as it is called by many here,) about four miles distant from the village where the pastor resides. As we went along, we had a full view of the place of meeting for some time before we reached it, as it stood on one hill, and we had to descend another opposite to it; and thus we could at a glance survey the numerous groupes who were moving along from various directions, but all hastening to one point. It was a pleasant sight. The whole scene harmonized with the feelings thus awakened. The morning was lovely. The heat had not yet become intense, and animated nature appeared to rejoice. The insects sporting in the sun-beams were innumerable. Seldom have I seen more admirable specimens, both of the insects and feathered tribes. The butterflies were exceedingly numerous, large, and beautiful. The bees, wild and domestic, were filling the air with their soft murmurs; and in the woods we saw varieties of the woodpecker, and squirrels in abundance. They seemed to court the presence of man, rather than to shun it. The domestic animals were enjoying the rest of the Sabbath; and man, the only creature on earth that ever failed to answer the end of his existence, seemed this morning in some measure to be alive to his high destiny. The cottages and plantations were thinly scattered, and yet considerable numbers were on the road, the throng increas-

ing as they approached nearer to the sanctuary of God. I was pleased to observe, that though a full proportion of the people that we passed were aged persons, *not one old person was walking*. The young people were either walking, or on horseback, while the parents, the grandfathers and grandmothers, were comfortably seated in their wagons or dearborns. The place of worship holds about four hundred persons, and it was filled. After the morning service, which, of course, as the stranger, I had to conduct, there was an interval of only a few minutes before the second service began. This plan is adopted to accommodate the people who come from a distance, and is indeed customary in some parts of our own country. The heat was very oppressive, being 86° by Fahrenheit, and you may easily suppose how I felt while preaching. I could not do as some of my hearers did, and which, I understand, is customary in country places, during the sermon; they had taken off their coats! I did not wonder that they were glad to dispense with this article of dress on such a day. It had, however, a singular appearance, to see some fifty or sixty men in such a condition, in a place of worship. But they were in the midst of friends; it was usual, and no remarks were made. In the interval of service, the place of general resort was a well hard by; and never did the simple beverage of nature taste sweeter than to-day. In going to and returning from worship, while a variety of dwellings in succession met my eye, my friends furnished me also with a glance at the history of some of their inhabitants.

In a country like ours, twenty cottages in a village may present few incidents worthy of notice, for the history of one is mainly the history of all; but, in the settling of a new district like this, the difficulties and privations, the successes and the disappointments, that occur, call into operation talents and energies, which, in other circumstances, might never be developed. Character is brought out, and the progress of society is more easily marked, than in older countries. One of the *chief*

dangers connected with a *new* and thinly scattered population, is the temptation they are under to neglect religion. This arises, not so much from the want of a place in which to meet, for they can easily, by uniting their time and labour, erect a *log* church, large enough for their numbers; but because, for several years, their life must be one of incessant toil and anxiety, in order to secure the necessaries of life. In such circumstances, if the day of rest is observed at all, it is apt to become a day of indolence or worldly pleasure. Especially is this the case, if there be a few of the settlers who set a different example. The early mode of settling in this country is not now much practised. Formerly settlers of a new territory formed a village, from which their plantations diverged in different directions. This was for mutual defence and benefit. And, in every instance, the school-house and church were found near the centre of the village. But when the fear of attack from the Indians was removed, and larger plantations were obtained, the settlers became more widely separated from each other, and it became more difficult to get them to unite in erecting places of worship, and in obtaining a regular ministry. Those who might be inclined to keep "holy the Sabbath," were seldom able to do this by their own exertions alone. To remedy this evil, societies were formed, in connexion with neighbouring congregations, in order to assist the people. This was done by sending christian missionaries, who might plant the standard of the cross, and gather around it the scattered population. There was no desire, on the part of the supporters of these institutions, to deprive the people of their rights, by placing over them ministers not chosen by themselves. It was simply carrying into effect the apostolic method of extending the gospel. After a people had been collected and converted, they left them to choose their own pastors; but till this could be done, they gave them that christian aid, which it is the duty of believers in Christ to do in all similar cases. It was in this way that the gospel was introduced, and became

successful in this immediate district. Happily the first settlers were from New England. Their love to divine ordinances, and their early application for the services of a Christian missionary, gave a decided tone to the character of the place. I was pleased to learn, that, in most cases, the inmates of the cottages were either members of Christian churches, or regularly attended on the preaching of the gospel.

On returning, we again saw groupes of people hastening to the sanctuary beside the pastor's dwelling, but it was a mournful occasion that brought them together—the funeral of one who had been cut down in the morning of life. Wishing to see their mode of conducting such solemn services, I also repaired to the place. The youth's father belonged to a different denomination, and his own minister had come to preach a funeral sermon, which I understand is customary at the time of interment. The corpse was brought into the place of worship, and placed on a stand beneath the pulpit. After the discourse, the mourners accompanied the body to the burying-ground, where, without any farther ceremony, it was committed to the grave.

I deeply regretted that, on such an occasion, when so many persons were assembled, the individual officiating should so lamentably fail in his statement of truth. If at any time the mind should be solemn, and disposed to listen to the voice of instruction and comfort, it is when the heart is softened, and the conscience awakened, by the presence of death. And surely a minister of Christ should seek to improve such an opportunity. But the preacher studiously avoided addressing the ignorant, the inquiring, or the penitent. He had no message, no invitation, no counsel, no consolation, for them. He spoke only of covenant privileges, and this he did unscripturally. A stranger, ignorant of religion, could not have learnt from his discourse that there was any salvation for sinners, any way by which man could be redeemed. And what made the omission of the gospel more distressing was, that in the history of the youth whose

mortal remains were there, there was much to alarm and impress the hearts of the young. But all was passed by unnoticed and unimproved. Need I tell you that the preacher was a Hyper-Calvinist? I am glad to add, that only a few persons attend on his ministry.

On the 7th of July the annual meeting of the Bible and Missionary Societies was held. After a brief address, respecting the objects which these institutions have in view, the members proceeded to transact the business of the meeting. It was pleasant to witness, in this remote corner, the orderly and practical habits of the people. Each individual who took a part in the proceedings seemed to understand business well. The officers were chosen, and the collectors appointed. I particularly observed their strict adherence to constitutional rules, and how they managed to apportion the responsibility among the different members of the committee. But what amused me more than any thing else, was the circumstance, that the chairman, who was a man of considerable property in the neighbourhood, was without his coat; and several of the speakers were in the same cool and airy situation. It did look rather singular, after the very different scenes I had witnessed in the large cities a month or two before. I was glad, however, to see that the same principles influenced men in very different circumstances; and that, too, without the excitement and *eclat* of large public meetings. Here I found Christians pursuing regular plans of usefulness, in *undress* certainly, yet promoting the same great objects with the wealthy and more refined inhabitants of New York and Boston. When I state that the thermometer was ninety-two in the shade on the day of meeting, you need not be surprised at what I have named. If it were as hot in England, probably the same custom would prevail in country villages.

It appears that some of the early settlers in this part of the State met with severe losses at first in the purchase of lands, owing to the rival claims between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The latter,

on the ground of some ancient grant, or purchase, from the Indians, sold large quantities of land to private speculators. The former afterwards asserted their right, and upon trial it was decided in their favour, so that those who had purchased lots from the speculators found their titles worthless, and lost both their money and their land.

I called, in the afternoon, on one settler, who entered on his plantation some twenty years ago. It consists of about three hundred acres, of which about one hundred and thirty are cleared. Of course, there is not a field without large stumps of trees, notwithstanding which, it appeared to promise good crops, especially of grass. In the course of conversation, he expressed a desire to dispose of his plantation, and retire to a less fatiguing life than that of farming. I was curious to know the value of such a property. He mentioned to me that it produced the ordinary crops, except wheat, and that it was chiefly meadow, and fed fifty or sixty head of cattle. He was willing to sell the plantation, including the dwelling-house and all the out buildings, for 2,500 dollars (about 550*l.*) I thought how glad a farmer of small capital in our country would be to secure support for a family, and at once enter on a property which might be purchased by two or three years' rent of a farm at home not much larger than the one we are speaking of in the present instance. And in this case, there would be no spiritual deprivation, for the gospel is faithfully proclaimed in the parish, not only by the Presbyterian minister, but also by other denominations. It would, however, require great personal labour, and unwearied industry, and would hardly answer unless there were several sons in the family. Manual labour is so expensive, that few owners of small plantations can afford to hire men-servants. There is no class in newly settled districts analogous to what we call "gentlemen farmers." The highest and lowest departments of farming operations are filled by the owner of the property. He must be able and willing to put his hand to any thing, or every thing, that demands his aid.

I examined to-day (the 8th) the plan of obtaining maple sugar. The person who accompanied me through the plantation had only about forty acres in wood; but without difficulty, from a small number of trees, he obtained about one hundred and fifty pounds weight of sugar in the season. A maple grove may, therefore, be considered as a valuable possession to new settlers distant from towns, and having few dollars at their command. He had collected the sap of the trees for a number of years, and, as far as could be judged by appearances, they had not been injured by the process of *tapping*.

The 9th was one of the warmest days that I have met with in this country. When I tell you it was 93° in the shade, and that I had to conduct a religious service in a Methodist chapel in the afternoon, you can, in some measure, imagine the inconvenience that I felt from the heat. It was really overpowering both to preacher and hearers. I have not had time to be seasoned, and perhaps felt it more than the natives of the place.

On the 10th, I went to Wysox, about fourteen miles from this place, to meet with a number of ministers and elders. My object was to learn from them the state of religion in this and the neighbouring counties. I found the utmost readiness to communicate all the information which they could. I was glad, also, to hear expressions of kind feeling from them towards all the Christians of our beloved country. Besides the present state of religion, I was desirous to ascertain how far the absence of support from the State legislature had affected it; and to know their opinion respecting the working of the scriptural method of sustaining and extending the preaching of the gospel in this newly settled district of country. It is not necessary to give even the substance of a conversation that occupied two or three hours. It is sufficient to give the result. With regard to the state of religion, it was the decided opinion of all who were present, that it was making progress in this and in the

neighbouring counties; and that, in some places particularly, great and beneficial changes had been effected. With regard to the question of State support for religion, there was but one expression of opinion. They firmly and unequivocally stated their abhorrence of such a plan, or of the State interfering, in any way, with the selection or appointment of ministers. All they sought from the Government was *protection*, and freedom for all denominations, to exert themselves in promoting religion according to their own views. They considered that a grant of money from Congress to support religious teachers, if it could by possibility be obtained, would be a curse instead of a blessing; and that the only way by which the purity and efficiency of the Christian ministry could be secured, was to give the people the privilege of choosing and supporting their own pastors. If, in some cases, owing to the limited numbers of the people, or their poverty, they were unable to support a minister, they considered it safest for neighbouring churches to assist, still leaving *all* power in the hands of the people; so that they could invite the minister most likely to benefit them, after they had become able to discriminate between one preacher and another.

I inquired if it would be incompatible with their views to receive grants from the State Legislature to build places of religious worship. They answered, that their objections to such a plan were many. They considered that it would encourage indifference among the people, if others should *do* what it was their duty and privilege to perform themselves, as much as to build their own dwellings. That, in their country, the great principle being acknowledged and acted upon, that all sects are equal in the eye of the law; grants could not be made to any denomination, without producing jealousies, and forming a source of heart-burnings, most destructive to Christian love, and to the prosperity of religion. That alienation and religious feuds would be the result among them instead of harmony and christian co-operation. If, to remove this difficulty, *all* denominations shoul

receive aid, according to the number of adherents in particular places, without any reference to truth or error, it would at once be giving the money of the friends of truth to the support of errors which they abhorred. If, again, the denomination which formed the *majority* of the people should be nominated by the State the *National* religion, and assisted accordingly, it would place itself under the control of the State, for no human government is disposed to give its patronage without some return. The *quid pro quo* is as well understood in such matters as in political affairs. And these ministers stated it as their firm conviction, that there was not one denomination in this land who would accept of such State patronage. Two circumstances would prevent them, *viz.* that it would be an act of injustice to others, who supported their own religious services and ministers; and it would be giving up their Christian liberties, into the hands of men, generally ignorant about religion, and who *in no age* ever legislated on the subject without doing the cause of truth the greatest injury.

When it is considered that some of the churches which these men represented are dependent for aid on the Home Missionary Society, connected with the Presbyterian church, we cannot but admire their disinterestedness in preferring the present mode, because they believed it would secure greater purity and efficiency to their churches. For, in these cases, State support, or compulsory taxation, would probably have afforded a more permanent, if not a more liberal, provision.

The result of the meeting is a conviction that, in none of the old settled States had the efficiency of Christian principle been put to a severer test than in the northern part of Pennsylvania; and that, notwithstanding every obstacle, it promised to supply the people, not only with places of worship, but also with ministers well educated and zealous in their work, and prepared to elevate the character of a new population.

I have spent another Sabbath at Orwell very satisfactorily. During my visit to this place, I have mingled

much with the people. I have been in many of their dwellings, and have seen a good deal of their domestic arrangements. I have tried to ascertain the feelings which the different denominations cherish towards each other. I find that there is a spirit of competition among some of them, but it is destitute of that bitterness and sectarianism which prevail so widely in our country. No one sect has any reason to consider itself as superior to all others, and the others have no cause to complain that they are oppressed and injured by a State religion. One of the deacons is an Episcopalian, and, not long ago, the bishop of the diocese visited him, and a few of similar sentiments in the district, and, on that occasion, preached in the Presbyterian church.

I shall soon leave for Pittsburgh, where I expect to meet with Mr. Reed, who parted from me on Lake Erie.

LETTER VII.

My dear Friend,

I have been delayed on my journey to Pittsburgh, by the difficulties of travelling in this elevated region. I am now on the western side of the principal range of the Alleghany Mountains. Rough as the roads were, fatigued as I have been travelling early and late, I have much enjoyed my journey. When I tell you, that I have taken six days and three nights to get to this place, (about two hundred and fifty miles,) you may suppose how far we are removed from the facilities of English travelling. We left Orwell shortly after I wrote my last letter, on the 14th of July, and, as there was no stage coach the route I intended to take, my relative was kind enough to accompany me, in his family wagon, for about one hundred miles, till I got into the great line of road to the West. We managed the first day to

travel about forty miles, and reached a small town, called by the Indian name, *Tunkhannock*. The whole road was hilly, and in one part, lay across a mountain of considerable height. The openings in the forest, next the roads, were covered with beautiful shumachs, and rhododendrons; the flower of the latter had passed away, but the shumachs were in full leaf, and the blossom ready to display itself. Some parts of the scenery greatly delighted me. The ground was so covered, in some places, by large and loose stones, that it required considerable management to escape an overturn. We had not allowed ourselves sufficient time to get to our intended place of destination, before day-light departed; and here darkness comes suddenly. There is no lingering twilight to warn us of the need of haste, before the shades of night fall on the traveller. We were consequently benighted. The road was narrow and imperfectly formed in some places. The moon appeared, but it did us little good, as the trees were of great height, and so close together. In addition to the darkness and the awkwardness of the path, a storm came on; and, in this country, storms are no trifling matters. I do not remember ever to have observed such continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and such tremendous peals of thunder. The horse had to be led for several miles through the forest. With considerable difficulty we arrived, without injury, at our inn, about ten or eleven o'clock. The tempest abated for a little while; but, about midnight, it burst forth again. I never trembled before during a thunder-storm, but this one really produced alarm. It appeared as if the whole atmosphere was on fire, and the roll of the thunder was so loud and long continued, and so near, that it felt as if all nature was crumbling into ruins. We were mercifully preserved; but I ascertained, from some of the local newspapers, a few days afterwards, that very great injury had been done both to crops and buildings, by the storm of that evening, particularly in the valley of Wyoming.

I had hardly had time to dress, on the Tuesday morn-

ing, about five o'clock, when a summons came, requesting me to repair to a school-room, where some Christians were assembled for prayer. I was taken by surprise, but I went immediately, and it was interesting to find, at that early hour, nearly twenty persons met for such a purpose. The meeting was composed of some of the most respectable people in the place. It was a weekly service, and had been found useful to those who engaged in it; and the hour had been fixed thus early, because six o'clock, or half-past, is the usual time for breakfast. The particulars related to me afterwards, respecting this little company, and the state of religion in the place, were interesting. The village had been remarkable for wickedness, the people having given themselves up to many excesses. Means had been used to do them good, but in vain. The state of things became worse, and the ministers in the neighbourhood determined to make another effort to stem the progress of irreligion. They met in the place, and held a protracted meeting. The religious services were continued for some days, and the blessing of God evidently accompanied them. A number of persons became convinced of the folly of their ways, and desired to be the servants of God. More than twenty were united in christian fellowship, and for two or three years, have maintained a consistent christian profession. A missionary, stationed in the neighbourhood, preaches once a fortnight to them, and meets with them on other occasions. They had commenced that meeting for mutual assistance and encouragement in the ways of God. I was glad to observe that a substantial brick building was erecting for them, in which they can meet on the Sabbath. It is large enough to hold four hundred people. This was preparatory to a pastor settling in the place. A great change has been produced in public opinion, and the conduct of the people, in general, is much improved.

This day brought us into the Valley of Wyoming—a name familiar to all who are acquainted with Camp-

bell's "Gertrude." We travelled along the whole length of it, and a beautiful valley it is. We encountered another storm, which obliged us to take shelter in a cottage. As this happened to be nearly opposite to the place where the massacre of Americans took place, we had leisure to indulge in the recollections awakened by the scene. It was only lately that the bones of the murdered victims were collected and interred in a large trench. A monument is now being erected to record the melancholy event. Tomahawks and arrow heads are found near the spot. We saw to-day the ravages made by the storm—hundreds of trees had been torn up by the roots; many of them being broken and shattered by the violence of the hurricane; while the corn now five and six feet high, in some places on the banks of the Susquehannah, was lying nearly prostrate on the ground. We observed that the wheat harvest had commenced in some sheltered places. The soil of the district through which we were passing appeared fertile. Many delightful spots present themselves on the banks of the soft-flowing river—the favourite haunt of the last lingering tribes of Indians, who struggled in vain against the united attacks of alcohol and the white men. Brainerd, indeed, tried to do them good, and some were saved by his labours; but the place that once knew them, knows them no more forever!

Wilkesbarre, where we remained all night, under the hospitable roof of the Rev. Mr. Dorrance, is situated at the end of the valley, and was called Wyoming originally. It contains rather more than two thousand inhabitants. There are three places of worship, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodist.* I found the plan adopted here of building a church at the united expense of two denominations, and each using it alternately. This is the case, I understand, in other new settlements, when neither sect is strong enough to build a suitable place of their own; but it is not found to answer.

* See Appendix.

Jealousies are produced, and it is very difficult to arrange opposing claims so as to please both parties.

On the 16th we proceeded in the stage, and with difficulty we reached Berwick. The roads were the worst that I had yet seen in these hilly regions, two and three miles an hour being our rate of travelling the greater part of the day. It was not till nine A. M. of the 17th that the stage reached Danville, forty-six miles from Wilkesbarre. Here I rested for the day; and parted from my relative, who had accompanied me thus far. I found Danville in a very interesting condition, as it regarded religion. One or two revivals of religion have lately taken place, and one hundred and twenty persons have been added to the church. Many, in the best informed, and most influential classes of society, have bowed to the authority of Christ, and professed to be his disciples. It was very animating to mingle in the society of those new converts, old enough to have tested the reality of their profession, but possessing all the freshness and ardour of young disciples. There were some "old disciples" too, who rejoice in this work of God. I met with one lady of ninety-four; she had some of the infirmities of age, but was still able to converse on the great subjects of religion with perfect correctness. Her daughter was present; she is about seventy: her granddaughter also, who is forty, and a great-grand-daughter, in her teens. There were four generations; three of them, at least, the servants of God. I had intended to leave in the evening, but was prevailed on to stay, and at an hour's notice we had a company of two hundred and fifty people in the lecture-room, where I addressed them. God has greatly honoured the labours of the minister, the Rev. Mr. Dunlap, of the Presbyterian church,* and he rejoices in his success.

The population amounts to about 1500 people. There are three places of worship; viz. Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodist. About 850 persons attend, of whom

* See Appendix.

325 are communicants. There are besides six Sabbath schools, containing 320 children. There is a Temperance Society, which is prospering. I was assured, by those who knew the place, that ardent spirits are not used in the town, either by religious or irreligious families. Indeed, the face of society has been greatly altered, owing to the influential character of many of those who have decidedly embraced the gospel.

On the 18th I passed through the town of Northumberland, at which place the northern and western branches of the Susquehannah river form a junction. The scenery at this place is very beautiful. It was in this town that Dr. Priestley lived for a number of years, after coming to this country in 1792. He died here in 1804. Having to remain a few hours, waiting for the stage, I made inquiry of some religious friends as to the effect produced by his residence here, and the efforts he made to propagate his peculiar opinions. It might have been expected that this would be the head quarters of Unitarianism in this State; but I ascertained that there was not even a place of worship for that denomination. The only place where error is preached is a very small Universalist meeting-house, where few attend. I found, however, that this town had not been favoured, as the neighbouring towns had, with revivals of religion. The Presbyterian congregation is without a pastor, though they had regular preaching every Sabbath by means of stated supplies. Religion is not flourishing here, as in other places where I have been.

I was amused in passing through the small town of New Berlin, in Union County, to find a number of the inhabitants, at their doors and in the streets, employed in reading newspapers. On inquiring the reason, I found that it was publishing-day; and that three different newspapers are printed every week, two in English, and one in German. The population is between four and five hundred persons! I got a copy of each. They were rather curiosities in their way. One was Masonic, and the others anti-Masonic. It appears that the division

of the public mind, on the subject of Masonry, has led to the publication of a great number of newspapers on both sides. The whole appearance and character of the journals were insignificant; but this was not surprising in such a small place, and with such a small circulation. Three cents was the price; though even this is not charged to strangers.

I travelled the whole night, and late on the evening of the 19th, arrived at Ebensburgh, and determined to remain over the Sabbath. I had a strong inducement to do so, for I had previously heard that there was a Welsh settlement at this place. I was very desirous to become acquainted with the condition of the people, and learn as many particulars as I could respecting their past history. Ebensburgh is about eighty miles from Lewistown, which we had left early in the morning, taking eighteen hours to go that distance. During the whole day we travelled over a mountainous region, approaching nearer and nearer to the Allegany Ridge, till we actually crossed it. The mountain over which we passed is the highest in this part of the State of Pennsylvania, being more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea. This town is on a table mountain, belonging to a lower ridge of hills, that runs parallel with the highest range of mountains. These elevated and uncleared regions, seem the favourite residence of snakes of various kinds. The driver of the stage killed a very large rattlesnake on the road to-day; and others of a harmless description were destroyed by some of the passengers. The company in the stage was the worst that I have yet met with since I travelled in this country. Horse-racers, swearers, and immoderate devourers of tobacco in its most offensive forms. Lewistown contains about four thousand inhabitants, and has six places of worship.*

The road from Lewistown led us along the course of the Juniata, and the line of the canal between Philadel-

* See Appendix.

phia and Pittsburgh. The difficulties which have been overcome in forming this chain of canals by the aid of the waters of the Susquehanna, Juniata, and Allegany rivers, have been numerous and great. Traversing the whole State of Pennsylvania, from east to west, they open communications with agricultural and mineral districts of great extent. There was something very striking presented in this day's journey. We sometimes ascended to the height of six or seven hundred feet, approaching nearer and nearer to the immense forests that covered the more elevated regions. On looking to the left, down abrupt descents, we saw, at their base, the Juniata silently pursuing its course through the defiles of the mountains, and the canal sometimes parallel with it, and sometimes diverging from it to find a more favourable level. We saw the work of man mingling in striking contrast with the stupendous works of God. The skill of man had surmounted mighty obstacles, and was now conveying, through that solitary region, the productions of both hemispheres. Ever and anon, the eye caught the canal boats pursuing their slow, but regular course through mountains almost unpeopled, and exhibiting the triumphs of science in her most useful forms, in the midst of the wilderness and silence of the native rocks and forests.

I found the inn at this place crowed by persons, some of whom had come a considerable distance to attend a "protracted meeting," which had begun some days before, and was to close on the Sabbath evening. I was glad that I had arrived in time to witness its termination. The landlord and his wife were both from Wales.

The protracted meeting was held by the Baptist denomination. The services had been held in their chapel on the former days; but when the Sabbath arrived, it was found too small to accommodate the additional crowds that had arrived. They accordingly had the use of the Congregational place of worship, which is much larger than their own.

I attended the meeting in the morning, and heard one

of the most talented of the preachers, who had come from a distance. His discourse was sensible, rather argumentative, and by no means fitted to excite the passions. It was dry and formal, and deficient in that energy and fire which I had expected. There was nothing in the preaching, or in the appearance of the congregation, to disapprove of. On the contrary, the doctrines of the gospel were correctly stated, and the people listened to them with deep and silent attention. I saw no movement, nor any visible indication of peculiar feeling among them. Another of the ministers preached in the Welsh language in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation. I passed the door of the place of worship, and heard the speaker addressing the people, with all the energy that is peculiar to ministers from the principality, when they speak in their native tongue. Judging from the perfect stillness of the congregation, I should suppose that he was speaking with good effect.

When I returned to the inn, I found the landlord at home, which rather surprised me. It appeared, however, that though he came from Wales, he did not understand Welsh. From him I learnt some interesting particulars respecting the settlement; but he referred me for full information to Judge Roberts, the pastor of the Congregational church. It was pleasing to think, that the colony which arrived first at this place, had brought with them from their own mountains and valleys the institutions of religion. Many delightful associations were awakened in my mind, by finding these settlers more than four thousand miles from their native hills, and yet not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which they had heard in their youth. The truth of God is the same, whether preached on the mountains of Allegany, or those of Wales. They had the additional privilege of hearing it, in the language which, above all other tongues, is sweet to them; so that the very sound might be called a joyful sound in their ears.

After the service, I sought an interview with the pastor, to whom I had been referred, for information. I did

not mention my name; but merely expressed a desire to be made acquainted with any particulars respecting the settlement, which might be interesting to a stranger, who had come from the mother country. He frankly expressed his readiness to do so, but I saw that he looked as if he wished to know who I was. I found it would be more courteous to tell him. When he heard my name, he knew at once my errand, for the numerous religious newspapers of the country travel even across these mountains. The firm grasp of his hand expressed his welcome and his joy in seeing a brother from the old country there. "You *must* preach," said he. I declined, for I was much exhausted by my previous journey, and needed rest. But, as was too frequently the case, no denial would be taken. He urged compliance more strongly, on the ground that the Deputation was from the Congregational Union of England and *Wales*. They were Welsh, he said; they were also Congregationalists; and it would be hard indeed, if one of the delegates from the Welsh, as well as from the English, churches, should be there and not address them. It was the first time, he added, since the settlement, thirty-seven years ago, that an English minister had been in the town, and, therefore, I *must* preach. What could I do? Necessity was laid upon me, especially when he went out, and immediately returned with several Baptist ministers, who united their requests with his.

The service of the evening was, to me, peculiarly interesting. The place of worship was quite filled. After I had addressed the people, the preacher of the morning followed up what I had said, by a renewed and solemn appeal to the congregation, to decide instantly for God. By this time some of the people seemed much affected. Their moistened eyes and expressive countenances showed the interest they took in the services; but, beyond this, I saw no movement, no physical excitement of any kind. All was silent among the people, except once or twice a subdued sigh, which broke on the stillness of the worship, and marked the emotion of a heart

that sought relief. When the minister closed his address, he invited those persons, whose minds were seriously impressed, who desired salvation and the prayers of the church on their behalf, to move to the "anxious seats" immediately before the pulpit.

I confess I was taken by surprise. I did not expect that such a proceeding would have been resorted to on this occasion. I hope my dislike to this *new* measure was not the result of prejudice: I had read, conversed, and thought much on the subject. I had seen the plan attempted to be carried into effect in one or two instances; and the decided conviction to which my mind had come, was—that it was injudicious, and was fitted to do great injury. It has always appeared to me something like an *outrage* on the feelings of those who were humbled before God, and were ready to shrink from the presence of their fellow-men, under a deep consciousness of personal guilt. It was enough to have this contrite feeling, without being called on to come openly forth from their fellow-worshippers, and then to place themselves in a prominent situation, before a large assembly, exposed to the gaze of the curious and irreligious, as well as to the kind and encouraging looks of Christians. A more private and tender mode of treatment seemed better fitted to accomplish the important design which the friends of this plan profess to have in view.

On this occasion, these and other thoughts passed through my mind. I wished the minister had *not* asked those who were impressed to occupy the seats already named. As he *had* done it, I was desirous to mark the effect upon the people. That there were some present, whose minds were seriously impressed, I have little doubt; and that, in another way, they would have sought and gladly received christian counsel, I am quite prepared to believe. But, in this instance, the invitation was not accepted. Not one person arose to move to the front pews. There seemed to be a shrinking of the people from this hasty and public avowal of their sentiments, feelings, or intentions; and I was not prepared

to condemn them. I considered that they acted modestly and judiciously. The invitation was repeated: still it failed to produce compliance. Of course, I had no right to interfere openly; but I thought it my duty to whisper in the ear of the minister, who was beside me in the pulpit, that, perhaps, it would be better not to persevere in inviting them to the anxious seat; that more good would probably result from the services of the day, if those who were under serious concern about their souls were to remain and converse with the ministers, or meet them next morning, for the same purpose. He took the hint in a Christian spirit, and adopted the plan. I have not heard the result of this protracted meeting.

I had a brief interview with Mr. Roberts after the service. I found him a pious and simple-minded man, deeply interested about the welfare of the people committed to his care. He communicated some affecting particulars respecting the early settlement of the colony in this place. There was not, however, time to give me all the information I was anxious to obtain. He was so kind as to promise to write out some facts connected with the history and present condition of the place, and send it to me before I left America.* I parted from him with feelings of great respect, and cherishing the hope of meeting again in a better country.

In the evening, the landlord requested me to conduct family worship. I was pleased with the request. We had a large family party, as some of the strangers had not departed. Early in the morning, before the stage left, I requested the landlord to tell me what I had to pay. "*Nothing*," was the quick reply. I insisted on giving him what was proper; but he peremptorily refused, and added,—"I am glad to have had a minister of

* Mr. Roberts fulfilled his promise. His letter will be found in the Appendix. I have preferred giving it in his own simple style, that the friends of the writer in Wales and elsewhere may see some of the trials which a colony, though composed of Christians, may expect to meet with in a foreign land. In one or two instances, minute details are omitted, as they could not be generally interesting. In such cases, however, the aggregate of numbers is given.

the gospel under my roof: that is my reward." I yielded, and accepted of his hospitality in the name of a disciple.

I leave this place in an hour or two, for Pittsburgh. I shall remember the Sabbath spent here with feelings of pleasure. This christian colony appears prospering, and, in some measure, to appreciate the religious advantages they possess.

LETTER VIII.

My dear Friend,

I arrived safely at the Pittsburgh Hotel on Monday evening, the 21st of July. Two or three months ago we were invited by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, one of the clergymen of the town, to visit Pittsburgh, and to take up our abode with him. We promised to do so, if we should journey so far West. I have received from him a frank and christian welcome. He resides about two miles from the town, in a beautiful situation, commanding a fine view of the Ohio, and the numerous vessels on it. There is near his house a maple grove, which furnishes a pleasant shade, though even there the thermometer was 88° on the day of my arrival. The ground around the house is finely undulated, more like the fields around Durham than any locality I have been in before. Indeed, the whole scene around me is more like home than most I have yet met with. The only *un-English* thing within my view, is the Indian corn. There is a large field of it just before my window, eight or nine feet high, with its silky tassels waving in the wind. Next to this, there is a good field of wheat, but it is so dwarfish and feeble compared with the other, that it seems less beautiful than at home, where it has no such competitor to overtop its rich and golden ears.

My host has pointed out to me in his garden various trees and shrubs, which he loves to cherish as reminiscences of a visit he made to England some years ago. He has imported young plants of the thorn, in order to imitate what he so much admired in our country—our hawthorn hedges. These and the laburnum tree he is endeavouring to naturalize. There is nothing I miss more in this western region than the beautiful divisions of our fields. I am not yet reconciled to the Virginian, or worm-fences, or dry stone walls, as substitutes for our green hedge-rows, so luxuriantly adorned with roses and woodbine. Pittsburgh itself is a very extraordinary place. The bustle and the smoke might be thought disagreeable; but there are points of interest which make one forget these trifling inconveniences. Sixty years ago the town had no existence. The ground on which it stands was then covered with a forest, the abode of wild beasts, and the hunting-ground of red men. Few white men were seen, except those employed to defend the border settlements on the east of the Allegany mountains. Fort Pitt was erected, chiefly as a defence against the Indians and the French, but there was no resident population beyond what was required for that purpose. After this part of the Valley of the Mississippi had been entered upon by the Americans, the locality of Fort Pitt was found to be a most suitable place for manufacturing and commercial enterprise. The Allegany and Monongahela rivers here form a junction, and their united waters, under the name of the Ohio, open a communication with all that immense country which takes its name from the Mississippi. And again, that mighty river, uniting with the Ohio, flows on till it empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, its whole course extending to more than two thousand miles. At the early period I have referred to, these majestic streams were navigated only by the slight canoes of the Indians. Now they are covered with large and convenient steamboats, which convey thousands of passengers into the western wilds, and bear, even to the inhabitants of Mexico, the fruits

of Pittsburgh industry. In one of my daily walks through the town, I saw lying at the wharf twenty-five steamboats, each capable of containing four or five hundred passengers, in their cabins and on deck. One hundred and forty-five now navigate this mighty stream. But besides these facilities for intercourse with the West and South, there is also a communication with the trade of the wide Atlantic and the rich stores of Europe. So late as forty years ago, it was with difficulty a horse could cross the mountains with those commodities which the few inhabitants of Pittsburgh at that time needed. There is now a canal from the town to the foot of the Alleganies, a rail-way across them, and another canal joining it, reaching to Philadelphia.

There is another natural advantage, of incalculable value to a manufacturing town, and that is, the abundance of coal to be found in the neighbourhood. There are here literally solid mountains of coal. The openings made for the purpose of working it more resemble our lead mines than our coal pits, being cut horizontally into the sides of the hills. By means of inclined planes, the coals are brought to the very furnaces of some of the foundries. Large quantities of them are also shipped off to very distant places.

The most celebrated manufactures of Pittsburgh are those of glass, iron, and cotton; and the trade carried on in these articles is immense. Under the guidance of my kind host, I have visited the principal manufactories. One of the principal glass manufacturers mentioned an amusing incident. Some Indians had been as a delegation to Washington, about some claims for reserved lands; and they spent a few days here on their return. One of them, a chief, had seen all that was curious in Baltimore and Philadelphia, without being much excited. While here, he visited the glass-house, and watched all the various operations with great apparent interest. At length, he saw the process of making some cream-jugs. The body of the jug was formed first, and when the material of the handle was fixed and formed, it was

found to be a perfect vessel. Seeing all this produced from molten glass, the chief could restrain himself no longer. He rushed forward to the workman, took him by the hand, and declared he must have the spirit of the great Father within him, or he could not have performed such a wonder.

Considering that four fifths of the town have been built within the last twenty or thirty years, I have been astonished at its *old* appearance. It is much like one of our second-rate manufacturing towns. To this resemblance, the coal smoke no doubt contributes a good deal. The houses in general are substantially built of brick. A considerable number of them are handsome and commodious; and in calling on various individuals, I found every house well furnished; some, indeed, elegantly so. Very few of the *frame* houses, so common in the small country towns, are to be found here. The churches also are large and well finished. One is now being erected, which is to cost 30,000 dollars (about 6,500*l.*)

I had the pleasure, on Wednesday, the 23d, of seeing a minister, who came to this State three years ago, from a place near Birmingham. He had heard that I was coming here, and he travelled thirty miles to meet me, and to hear some particulars about friends at home. This affords peculiar enjoyment to those who, like him, have chosen this land as the place to live in, and in which to die; and who yet feel a strong and warm attachment to the land of their fathers, and to friends left behind, whom they never expect to meet again in this world. I was glad to hear of the success of this good man. He has become the pastor of a parish where the congregation is good, and the church large and prosperous. He has bought a farm of one hundred acres, and has a salary sufficient to support him. He is well known to the ministers of Pittsburgh, and highly respected by them. He came to this country with the highest testimonials from well-known ministers in England; and no man who has these will fail to meet with a cordial reception from brethren in the West. Let character be

well guaranteed, and it will gain their confidence at once, frankly and wholly.

In all my intercourse with the ministers of this town, the professors of the Theological Institution, and pious laymen connected with benevolent and religious societies, I find enlightened views of Christian policy. The religious interests of the world appear to receive much of their attention; and I find among them all a decided affection for the father land. They admit their obligations to this country, and express their warmest wishes for our increasing happiness and prosperity. The affairs of England command as great a share of attention in this distant quarter as in any other part of the country; and uninterrupted peace and harmony between the two nations is the object of universal desire.

Our usual dining-room is a verandah, open on one side to an orchard, and the green hill beyond it. The party that assembled to-day in this cool retreat was intelligent and agreeable. The freest remarks were allowed with regard to their institutions. The religious and political character of the country was amply discussed. They seemed to apprehend no danger to their political constitution, except that which would arise if ignorance were allowed to prevail. They appear to feel deeply that, with an elective franchise so extensive as theirs, their condition would be most alarming, unless knowledge, and knowledge founded on religion, pervade the mass of society. This appears essential to the right exercise of their political privileges—to set them alike free from the power of the despot and the arts of the demagogue. The elective franchise cannot now be limited; what remains to be done, is to diffuse knowledge in every direction, and by placing the population under the influence of healthy moral principles, to secure peace and liberty. The establishment of schools bearing an essentially religious character is unquestionably important. But the absence of taxes on knowledge, also afford great facilities for doing good.

There can be little doubt that our own country, also,

would be greatly benefited by the removal of all taxes on knowledge. The wiser people are, the better it is for good governments, and the more difficult to excite commotion among them. The press is the safety-valve of the public mind. Political as well as religious knowledge should be as widely diffused as possible among a free people. Let information come to every cottage; let it be of that decidedly useful kind which every judicious friend of the people must value and approve; and good will assuredly result. If the tax on paper was removed, and the duty on newspaper stamps repealed, a mighty impulse would be given to the community. Instead of six or twelve mechanics going into the alehouse to read one newspaper among them all, each of their families might have one at home. And thus the poor man's fireside would acquire new charms for himself, while he felt the pleasure of communicating entertainment and information to his household. Bibles, tracts, and magazines, might also be circulated to a much greater extent than they are at present. These remarks have been suggested to me by what I have seen here. I have no doubt that commercial prosperity is promoted in an equal degree, with the cause of religion, by the means just referred to.

Yesterday, the 24th instant, I met with the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The progress of this Society has been equal to that of our most favoured institutions at home. Its income for the last year was seventeen thousand dollars, and it has only been two years in existence. There is something almost romantic in its history. It is only about fifty years since the first preacher passed over the Allegany Mountains, into the Valley of the Mississippi. This was a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. M'Millan. There were few inhabitants then; and for some time he laboured almost alone. Two or three years ago, this venerable and apostolic man visited the churches which he was instrumental in planting. And, in the Synod of Pittsburgh, there are now twenty-three thousand communi-

cants, and about a hundred thousand hearers of the gospel, besides Christian churches of other denominations. But not only has this good been effected for the people themselves. In this infant town they have begun to feel for, and to assist the heathen. How surprising that, from this distant region, messengers of peace should be sent forth to Northern India, Western Africa, and even to Jerusalem itself. The two former countries already have devoted and well-trained missionaries from this Society; and arrangements are now making to establish missions in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in China. We have been told of the surprise expressed by certain custom-house officers in one of the European ports, at finding a ship's papers dated Pittsburgh. No less surprising will it be to the Christian traveller, to meet, amidst the ruins of the Seven Churches, or the mountains of Judea, missionaries sent from a spot in the other hemisphere, perhaps unknown to him even by name, and itself but recently blessed with gospel light. One of the missionaries in Northern India, from some of his letters which I have read, appears to be a peculiarly devoted and noble-minded man. He is a son of the Honourable Walter Lowrie, clerk to the Senate of the United States, at Washington. After finishing his studies at college, he offered his services to the Western Missionary Society. He left his father's house, the comforts, and the distinction which he possessed at home, for the cause of Christ; and his communications breathe the spirit of him who counted it an honour to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Influenced by that Christian liberality which is best suited to the character of an evangelist, he desires to co-operate with men of kindred minds from other societies, or of different denominations, wherever he may meet with them. I observe that he has brought before the board of directors here, the circumstances of a numerous tribe hitherto overlooked in the efforts of Christian benevolence. I refer to the Seik nation, containing between one and two millions of people, and occupying a considerable part of

Lahore, a part of Moultaw, and those districts of the Province of Delhi, which lie between the Jumina and the Sutledge.' The directors are anxious that the London Missionary Society, with which they seem best acquainted, should co-operate with them in this interesting field of Christian enterprise; and they have requested me to state their wishes to the directors in London. Various resolutions were passed at the meeting yesterday, expressive of their sympathy with the exertions and the success of kindred institutions in England; as well as reciprocating the friendly regards of our Congregational Union. They appear desirous to open a correspondence with the directors of the London Missionary Society, in order to receive advice in matters respecting which they have, as yet, had little experience. I was much pleased with the business habits of the committee, and with the warmth and affection of their feeling towards the British churches. I noticed here, as I have done elsewhere, that much of the success of religious institutions in this country, may be traced to the talents, devotedness, and general efficiency of the official agents of those societies.

On returning from the meeting, I visited the Western Theological Institution, which stands in an elevated situation. It is a spacious building, and convenient for its intended purpose. It is one hundred and fifty feet long, seventy feet wide, and three stories high; and can comfortably accommodate about one hundred students. Nearly forty young men are now in the house. The library, as might be expected, is small—only five thousand volumes. Nearly two thousand of these were obtained by the Rev. A. D. Campbell, from friends in our country. This portion of the library is placed by itself, and each book labelled, "English and Scotch Library." It gave me great pleasure to look over the names of the donors, inserted in the first blank page, and to find thus recorded the liberality of many whom I know and esteem. They have, in this way, rendered an essential service to the institution. And these books form a link

of union and attachment between Britain and America. They are pledges of friendly regard on the part of those who bestowed them. And the rising ministry, educated in this seminary, while receiving benefit from their perusal, cannot but feel their best affections drawn towards the father land.

LETTER IX.

My dear Friend,

On the 25th, I visited one of the coal-hills which I mentioned in my letter from Pittsburgh. The heat in the town was intense, at least 90° in the shade. We had to climb the hill for half a mile, in rather a winding direction, and there were no trees to shelter us. When we arrived at the mine, two thirds from the base of the hill, we were too much heated to enter it immediately. We therefore stopped for a little time in a shed. We then walked into the mine for thirty or forty paces; but the atmosphere was so cold and damp that I felt obliged to return. I, however, saw the process, and learned some particulars respecting the circumstances of the workmen. The tunnel, or arched way, which leads to the interior of the hill, was high enough to admit of our walking nearly erect; and a railway is carried along, by which the coals are conveyed in wagons to the outside. The number of persons employed is much smaller than in the principal collieries of our country.

The same day, I called on a minister, the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, of the Reformed Dutch Church, who had been living for three years among the Indians, as a commissioner from the Government. He gave me some accounts respecting these aborigines. He seemed, however, to be so deeply interested in the mission of my colleague and myself to America, that he dwelt more on

that topic than any other. Seldom have I heard any individual express more affection for our beloved country than he did. And his situation was such as to give peculiar force to all he said. He was so ill that he was obliged to be supported in bed; while one of his children was fanning him, to prevent exhaustion and fainting. His health had been for some time declining; and when he arrived at Pittsburgh, he was unable to proceed to Utica, his usual place of residence. His looks indicated extreme feebleness, but he seemed to receive new energy when speaking of Britain, of British authors, and the British churches. He expressed his joy that the plan of delegation had been thought of; and his wish that it might promote the kindest feelings between the two nations. He had heard I was in the town, and wished to see me, that he might tell me his views on the subject. I was much impressed with his conversation; it looked like the dying testimony of a good man in favour of that Christian union which it was the object of our mission to confirm. But what especially interested me was the fact, that while he spoke so warmly of Britain, it was always in connexion with the conversion of the world. The moral power which the two nations possess, and which he was so anxious to see combined in accomplishing the salvation, and securing the liberties of men, appeared to be the great subject that occupied his mind. His zeal and animation were too great for his enfeebled frame; and while I listened to him with delight, I feared he was shortening his few remaining days by over exertion.

We united in presenting supplications to the throne of grace for both countries, and for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, as well as for ourselves. I then left him, expecting never to meet him again, till we meet before the throne of God. These are seasons of deep and hallowed interest—moments when the realities of religion press powerfully on the mind, and when we feel as if in the immediate presence of Deity. To meet for the *first* and *last* time a fellow-Christian who ap-

peared to be rapidly hastening into eternity; and to hear him express his confidence in God—his love to the people of God throughout the world—his desire for the spread of the gospel—and his happiness in the prospect of meeting with all the friends of the Redeemer at last, was a privilege of no common order.

I left Pittsburgh on the evening of the 25th, and reached Bedford Springs the evening following. The journey across the Alleganies was slow, and in some parts rather dangerous. The declivities of the road are considerable, and the drag seems to be very little used in these parts.

How different from the mountains I have seen in my own country are these! What they lose in sublimity by the comparison they gain in beauty, being clothed to the very top with luxuriant and lofty trees. It would be difficult to imagine scenes more full of interest and variety than those of the morning's ride. As the sun ascended, masses of cloud still floated around the hills; but the eye rested on one, whose elevated peak, with its crown of verdure, rose far above them, penetrating into a clearer and purer region. But the scenery varied every moment as the road ascended and descended, crossing one ridge after another. While gazing on some magnificent group of hills that seemed retiring from the view, and escaping into the distance, a deep valley would suddenly open before us. And here the hand of man had ventured to invade the forest. A little spot was cleared —the log hut was erected—and corn was growing amidst the trunks and wrecks of stately trees. Farther on, a wider range of cleared land presented itself to the view. The rivulet, which could only have flowed a mile or two from its source in the mountains, was seen directed into a narrow channel; and formed the moving power of a miniature corn-mill, erected for the convenience of the owner and his neighbours. For thirty miles, these alternations of hill and valley continued till we felt as if we should never see the plain again. Yet, each dark recess or sunny glade presented some new feature of wildness

or of beauty, which effectually beguiled the otherwise tedious progress of our heavily-loaded vehicle. When, however, we suddenly emerged from these, and found ourselves on the summit of the last Allegany range, all that had previously charmed us was forgotten in the magnificent spectacle which opened on our sight. An immense plain, extending to hundreds of miles, lay spread out at our feet. We stopt to gaze on it for a few moments, but it almost seemed too vast to contemplate at once. While we slowly performed the gradual descent of eight or ten miles, we had more leisure to grasp the more prominent points around the spacious horizon. I shall never forget the scenes of that morning; the reality has passed away for ever, but recollection brings the picture vividly before the mind.

I spent the Sabbath at Bedford, where I heard a sermon twice in the Presbyterian church. In the inn, I met with Christian people from various sections of the Union, some of them from the Southern States. I find a respect for, and an attention to, religion, in the inns of this country, which I never observed in England. The books, lying in the different rooms, as well as those to be found in the small library of the landlord's parlour, are chiefly religious books, reprints of our standard works. Owen, Bunyan, and Doddridge; Boston and Scott; are thus presented to the notice of the passing traveller. The governor of the State twice attended the church to-day.

Early on Monday morning I pursued my journey, but had not proceeded far, before I was taken ill. The cholera was in Pittsburgh while I was there. I had seen one of the steam-boats come in from New Orleans, which had lost ten passengers, and two more were then dying. I had now every reason to think that I was seized with that disease. I persevered, however, in travelling, till ten o'clock, when I was compelled to stop at an inn, at Chambersburgh, and allow the stage to go on without me. Having used the ordinary remedies, I lay down, quite exhausted, and my spirits, as you may

suppose, much depressed. Far from home, separated from my companion, and in the midst of strangers, I had never felt so ill or so desolate in all my previous wanderings, as at that moment. "There is a Friend who sticketh closer than a brother;" and his presence was not withdrawn from that remote corner; but the thoughts of home in such a situation were painful. In the midst of my solitary musings, the landlady came in, looked at me, and said, "Are you one of the gentlemen from England?" I replied, that I was from England. "Yes, but I mean, are you one of the ministers who came from England, as a deputation to the Presbyterian church?" When I stated that I was one of the individuals referred to, I found that this was at once a passport to her confidence, and secured for me immediate and unremitting attention. She and her husband did all that the kindest friends could have done for me. But my curiosity was excited, to know how they had found me out. Here, again, one of the religious newspapers had been my pioneer, by making them acquainted with the arrival of the deputation in America, the names of its members, and its subsequent movements. Seeing mine in the way-bill and on my luggage, they concluded who I was. The aged minister of the town soon called on me, at the request of my kind hostess, and remained with me a considerable time.

Chambersburgh contains a population of between three and four thousand. For this population, there are eight places of worship.* There are a good many Germans in this part of the State. Two of the congregations here consist of German Lutherans. Only one of the eight, and that a small congregation, professedly holds heterodox opinions.

After remaining till Tuesday, I felt so much recovered, that, finding there was room in the stage, I proceeded towards Philadelphia. The valley, through which I travelled for nearly seventy miles, is very beautiful and well cultivated, chiefly settled by Germans. The cot-

*Appendix.

tages and farm-houses are of brick; the barns, &c. are superior to most that I have seen in the other States. The crops of wheat were standing in the sheaf, and appeared to be good. Some fields were only being cut down. Seeing no gleaners, I remarked the circumstance to some of the passengers. They declared they had never seen any. They said that the poorer people could find more advantageous employment, both for themselves and their children. The German settlers have beautiful teams of horses. Every thing around them wears an air of plenty and comfort. As we passed along, in the afternoon, we saw the old ladies, sitting in the porches of their dwellings, with their children and grand-children around them. Their dress, which was quite foreign, at once pointed out their origin; and they also retain many ancient customs of their fathers. It was pleasant to see their prosperous condition, and to think that they enjoy freedom and security, greater than what their own land afforded. But this pleasure is mingled with tne fear, that they are not in a state of spiritual prosperity. I have elsewhere alluded to the indifference of this class of settlers in general, to the means of education. In this respect, they resemble the Roman Catholics more than Protestant denominations. One of the natural effects is, that they are cold and formal in their religious observances; and they seem to regard modern improvements in science with equal apathy. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to obtain full and correct information respecting the real condition of the Germans. We passed through the town of Lancaster, which contains ten thousand inhabitants. It has eleven places of worship. There is a rail-road from thence to Philadelphia, about sixty-eight miles. It has been recently finished, and there are not, as yet, any locomotive carriages on it. Our travelling was tedious for a rail-road, about six miles an hour, including several stoppages.

When I arrived here, I found that many of the friends we met with in May were absent. At this season, the large cities are thinned of thousands of their inhabitants;

and I do not wonder that all get away who can do so. For two or three days past the thermometer has averaged 88 or 90 degrees in the shade; and the heat is here almost intolerable. It was 94 in the shade, in Walnut-street, at one o'clock on the 29th. My anxiety to receive letters from England did not suffer me to remain here; I therefore passed rapidly on to New York, where I expected to find several packets awaiting me. None can know, but those who have experienced it, the load of suspense that presses upon the heart of a traveller when long deprived of communications from home. The kindness and hospitality of friends can afford him no relief. Their attentions may soothe and divert his mind for a little while, but still the anxious and unanswerable question, "Is all well with those I love?" returns with redoubled force, to haunt him in every scene of temporary pleasure. The burden accumulates with every passing week; and the perturbation of the spirit becomes increasingly violent, as the moment approaches, which shall either confirm every distressing fear, or turn all his trembling hopes into a blessed certainty. Happily for me, the latter was my case; and I can compare the transition of feeling only to the transport of a captive, long confined in a dungeon, suddenly restored to light and freedom.

After remaing in New York till the 5th instant, I returned to Philadelphia, expecting the arrival of Mr. Reed from the south. I have spent some days in the company of Christian friends, and seen all that is worthy of notice in the scientific and philanthropic institutions. There is a garden here, which is usually visited by strangers, to whom the owner (Mr. Pratt) allows this privilege. The situation is good, and the grounds are laid out in a superior manner to any thing on the same scale which I have seen in America. But the gardens of this country in general cannot be compared to those of England. I have been disappointed at the little taste displayed by the Americans in the cultivation of flowers. The gayest and most common shrubs in flower at present are the altheas. The heat is favourable to many of the tender

annuals of our country, but it soon destroys our more common and not less valued plants. The severe storms and heavy rains that frequently occur, are very injurious to the flower garden. The cottage gardens, too, are far inferior in beauty to ours; but what they want in ornamental plants, is made up in the number and variety of their vegetables. Large quantities of cucumbers, squashes, and melons, pumpkins and tomatoes, occupy the ground which in our country would be filled with cabbages and turnips. The use of the cucumber is very frequent, and, I should fear, in many cases injurious.

This city presents much simplicity in its appearance, and is a fair specimen of the taste of the "Friends." They had formerly more ascendency here than they have at present. The division of this denomination into two parts, one section (which, I am sorry to say, is the larger) holding erroneous and dangerous sentiments, has much weakened their moral and benevolent influence in this country. I fear that, unless the majority return to a pure and scriptural faith, they are not likely to do much good in future. Philadelphia contains a large proportion of wealthy persons, who have either partially or wholly retired from business. Many of these are Christian men, who are much engaged in promoting the objects of the religious and benevolent societies established among them. Considering the resources of the place, however, and the number of professing Christians to be found in it, I cannot but think that more might be done by them in support of the great Christian institutions of their country. The city is well supplied with places of religious worship. The Roman Catholics are making considerable efforts to extend their influence; but I think there is little prospect of success in the way of proselytism. By importation they may add to their numbers. The Unitarians here can hardly maintain one congregation.

I cannot leave this place without naming the unwearied kindness and hospitality of Dr. Ely, from whom we have always met a cordial welcome; though, at this time,

according to a previous promise on my part, I have received the hospitable attentions of another Christian friend, Robert Ralston, Esq. Dr. E. had invited the Deputation to reside with him, even before it left the shores of England, promising to afford us every assistance in his power. And he has more than redeemed his promise. Every thing that he could do to promote the object of our visit he has done in the most frank and friendly manner. I shall ever retain a lively sense of his unwearied kindness.

LETTER IX.

My dear friend,

After having given you an outline of my journeyings through Pennsylvania, you are, no doubt, prepared to be informed respecting the impressions made on my mind as to its religious condition. The situation of the United States, generally, you already know. A few facts, with reference to this particular State, may enable you more easily to understand the effects produced by the exercise of Christian principle, in sustaining and extending religion without State support. To this point I directed my attention, as involving a question of great moment to America, to Britain, and to the world. The conclusions to which I have come will be frankly stated; and you will be left to approve or reject them, according to the nature of the facts that may be brought before you. As far as they go, they will furnish data to assist the mind in the investigation of truth. On both sides, this information should be sought; for it is neither wise nor safe to come to any sweeping conclusion respecting the efficiency or inefficiency of any plan, without securing all the evidence that can reasonably be expected. Every friend of truth must rejoice in the accumulation of evidence in support of it, or in the detection of error. The

eternal interests of men are too important and solemn, and the claims of party are too insignificant, to justify regret at the elucidation and confirmation of important principles, even though our preconceived notions are found to be erroneous. The Christian, to be consistent, must value truth wherever it is found.

Considering the time that Pennsylvania has been settled, it has made less progress in religion and in education than any of the rest of the non-slaveholding States, which have been settled an equal time. A variety of circumstances may account for this. The early settlers were men of heterogeneous habits and character, and the same may be said of them to the present day; while those who settled in the Eastern States were united in their character and their pursuits. The extent of the country, too, their protracted wars with the Indians, and frequent contests with settlers from Connecticut, must all be taken into the account.

There are to be found in this State, colonies of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, Scotch-Irish (or people from the north of Ireland,) English, Welsh, and New Englanders, besides individual settlers of other nations. These have not been scattered over the face of the country, and mingled with each other: they have rather formed separate settlements, and retain, to this day, many of the customs and prejudices of their countrymen. This want of amalgamation has retarded both their religious and educational improvement; for the efforts of domestic missionaries have been impeded; and the State could not so easily pass laws respecting a general system of education, as it might otherwise have done. Isolated as these different colonies were, they looked with jealousy on any legislative measure, which seemed to interfere with their national customs or language. Thus, a law past last year, legalizing the collection of a general tax for the support of schools throughout Pennsylvania, has given great offence to the German population, as threatening to annihilate their language; and is likely to be much opposed by them, when it begins to be carried into effect.

At the same time, the past history of this State, and its present condition, cannot be contemplated without feelings of deep interest. When William Penn arrived in the Delaware, in 1682, to take possession of the territory, in virtue of his charter, he found in the country three thousand people, Dutch, Swedes, Finns, and English. The history of Pennsylvania, to the time of the Revolutionary War, presents little else than a catalogue of wars and skirmishes between the settlers and the aborigines. This State took a leading part in the revolution. It was in her capital that the Declaration of Independence was made, which had such an effect on America and on the mother country. In 1776, a constitution was formed, which was superseded by a second in 1790. It is from the latter period that the prosperity of Pennsylvania may be chiefly dated. So that most of the improvements made in religion, education, morals, and science, may be viewed as resulting from the exertions of little more than forty years. The advancement made is quite as great as could have been expected in so short a space of time. When it is also considered, that this State is twice the size of Scotland; and that the middle section of the State, containing nearly one half of its area, is mountainous, and very partially settled; the number of ministers and churches—of collegiate and theological institutions—will appear considerable.

Various questions will occur in connexion with this part of the subject. How are the ministers appointed and supported? What kind of places of worship do the people erect, and how is the expense defrayed? Is the accommodation sufficient, both in towns and in country places? Are there not great commotion and disturbance in choosing their ministers? What is the moral character of the people, and their attention to religious duties? And what means of instruction have they for their respectable youth, and for the mass of the children of the State? I shall attempt to answer the above inquiries.

The ministers are appointed, and are entirely sup-

ported by the contributions of the people, collected in the way of pew-rents, and voluntary subscriptions. The amount, of course, depends on the situation, the number, and ability of the people. In new settlements, the ministers are aided for a while by various Domestic Missionary Societies, with which they are denominationally connected. In large towns the salary is very respectable. In country places about four hundred dollars a year is the minimum amount (I speak of the Presbyterian ministers) received either from the people or from societies. Where there is little money in circulation, provisions are given instead of it. In those districts where the income of the minister is small, the expense of living is moderate. A large proportion of them are also provided with houses, and grass for a horse and cow. The system which the Methodists act upon provides what is considered sufficient by the Conference of Ministers themselves. The other denominations have no fixed amount of salary for their pastors; and formerly, in the thinly settled districts, one minister had sometimes to officiate over two congregations, in order to obtain a sufficient income. This plan, however, is only temporary, and arises from necessity. The people, as well as the pastors, are anxious that each regular congregation should have its own minister; and if his whole time is not occupied with his own flock, he devotes what he can spare to those destitute places in his neighbourhood which are not adequately supplied with the means of religious instruction. In this way, the gospel has spread from place to place, so that no township, or parish, can now be found without preaching by one denomination or another. In those districts where the population is numerous, there are several denominations. Circumstances permitted me to meet with a considerable number of pastors, some of them in the midst of their flocks. From what I saw and learnt from the parties most concerned, I should say, that in general they had a sufficiency, and are in possession of the substantial comforts of life. That some have pecuniary difficulties

to contend with is very likely; but I heard few complain of their people. The education of their children, when they grew up, I found to be a difficulty, but even this was less felt than perhaps in this country. The benefits of a classical and theological education are open to nearly all ranks, if they are disposed to take advantage of them. There are also greater facilities for fixing sons in situations in which they can support themselves, than can be well found in an old country like ours. In the rural districts of Pennsylvania, no youth arrived at eighteen years of age, need feel any difficulty in obtaining sufficient and respectable support for himself, if he is willing to be industrious. In towns the facilities are fewer, and the distant West is often the point aimed at when an independence is desired by the young and enterprising.

The places of worship are of various descriptions, according to the amount of population, and the resources and wishes of the people. In a few instances, in the towns, they are built of stone, but chiefly of brick; and in the country parishes, a great many of them are built of wood. In Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Lancaster, and Harrisburgh, the places of worship are spacious; some of them rather elegant, and all of them comfortable. In travelling through the State, we see no structures presenting the appearance of venerable antiquity, and covered with luxuriant ivy; but it is gratifying to see that the *best*, the largest, and most substantial buildings, both in the villages and towns, are the places of religious worship. Though there is nothing in the appearance of these buildings to carry back the imagination to the olden time, they are by no means destitute of ornament. Many of them have spires, though less frequently than in the New England States, where these are common to all denominations. Philadelphia, however, still retains an appearance of Quaker simplicity. In very few instances can steeple, turret, or bell, be found attached to her sanctuaries.

There are two plans by which they generally defray

the expense of erecting places of worship. The first is —after a number of people have been collected by the preaching of the gospel, and the nucleus of a congregation has thus been formed, some of the wealthiest and most enterprising among them use means to get a house of worship erected. These persons are responsible, till the building is finished and ready to be occupied; the pews are then publicly sold to the families in the parish, and become private property, and can be sold by the purchasers to others, if they should leave the place. It happens, occasionally, that more is obtained by the sale than what the building cost. When this is the case, the surplus is sometimes expended in building a minister's house, and in adding a field to it. This plan is somewhat similar to the one adopted in this country with proprietary chapels. In cases like these, the minister is supported by direct subscriptions from the people. I was astonished to learn how large the amount of individual subscriptions were, to support their ministers. People who had not, perhaps, a hundred dollars passing through their hands in the course of the year, would give a fourth, and sometimes a half of it, to support the gospel among them. All this is done cheerfully, as a free-will offering. In many of these country places there is, comparatively, little money in circulation; most of the business being done in the way of barter.

The other method I have referred to, is to collect subscriptions first, and when a certain amount has been obtained, to begin to build a place of worship. The farmers and mechanics often give their labour gratuitously. If a debt remains, they seek assistance from their richer brethren, in the towns and more populous districts. Few of the places are burdened with debt, as too many of the chapels in this country are.

The idea which I had formed of a *wooden* church, was by no means flattering. But when I saw their size and general appearance; when I examined the interior, and found every thing respectable, and, in some instances, rather too fine; I became convinced that they were by no

means deserving of contempt. The interior of many of them was far superior to most of our country chapels, and had more of finish and comfort than our ordinary parish churches. There were stoves in them all; this, however, is absolutely necessary during their severe winters. When I looked at the appearance of the pulpits; at the matting on the aisles; cushions in the pews, and boards on which the people might lean their elbows; I considered that for a young people, of republican habits, they had gone quite far enough, in the way of furnishing and adorning their places of religious worship. All was provided that could be desired by the most fastidious mind. The divisions in the interior of their churches were also convenient, and done in such a way as to lose no room. I here speak generally; my remarks extending to the greater number of the buildings which I visited, in my journey through the breadth and length of the State.

The next question may be divided into two distinct branches. Does this plan of voluntary supply furnish a sufficient number of places for the population? and does it provide a number, equal to that which an Establishment would be likely to do? Each of these will require a distinct answer. With regard to the first, the best answer will be, to give the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, as far as they can be ascertained. It may be said, that the statement is under, rather than above the truth.

Population.....1,347,672			
	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Presbyterians	475	337	50,988
Methodists	252	252	74,106
Baptists	151	133	11,103
Evangelical Lutheran Church	370	180	26,486
German Reformed Church	150	50	10,000
Church of United Brethren	11	10	2,900
Dutch Reformed Church	8	8	1,671
Associate Reformed	12	36	2,650
Friends	150		
Roman Catholics	54	40	-
Unitarians			
Universalists			
	1633	1046	179,904

The result of the foregoing statement is, that there is one place of worship for every 830 souls, and one minister for every 1300 souls, and the proportion of communicants is as one in seven of the population. The disproportion between the places of worship and the number of ministers, is chiefly accounted for by including the Friends' meeting houses, and by the fact, that one minister preaches in two, and sometimes in three places of worship, where the people are poor, or the churches small. It may, I believe, be said with truth, that not one orthodox denomination has any of their sanctuaries closed on the Sabbath. When there is no settled pastor, there is a sermon read, or there are the services of licentiates, missionaries, or local preachers. But besides the regular buildings erected for worship, the school-houses are open on the Sabbath, and many of the pastors preach in these, when situated in distant parts of their parishes. There is, however, evidently room for the services of additional ministers, and it would be well if this necessity were speedily supplied.

The second question is one of comparison. It is enough to say, in reply, that the supply in Pennsylvania is greater than in Scotland. Judging from what I have seen of the size of places in both countries, I should say that the places of worship in Pennsylvania average a larger accommodation than those in Scotland.

But there is a still more important question connected with this part of the subject, and that regards the character and efficiency of the religious teachers who occupy these buildings. Unless this is considered, we shall fail to obtain a correct view of the real amount of religious instruction which the people voluntarily furnish to themselves. What then is the character of the Protestant ministry in Pennsylvania? I would say, that it is of an enlightened and spiritual character—that their ministers are regenerated men. The suspicion of being a mere worldly professional preacher, would deprive a man at once of the confidence and support of the people. No inconsistency would be allowed, the utmost propriety of

demeanour is expected; and if an individual is a deceiver, he must act his part well, or he will be detected, and deprived of his office. There are three things that secure a spiritual ministry among the Presbyterians (and the remark will apply to nearly all the other denominations to the same extent.) These are, the religious character of the people, and their love to the doctrines of the gospel. The fact, that these persons choose and support their own pastors, and the caution exercised by the ministers already settled, before they give their sanction to those who are probationers. Thus, the people cannot knowingly choose a bad man, or a preacher of error; and as they have to support him, they are not likely to prefer an inefficient man. The neighbouring ministers have also such a regard for the cause of religion, and the character of their own denomination, that they "lay hands suddenly on no man." But there is another way by which the spiritual character of the ministry is secured in this, and in the other States of America, and it is found effectual. No young man *is admitted* into the theological seminaries of any of the evangelical denominations, who does not give decided proofs of piety. And no student can pass through his course of education in such institutions, without his abilities, and principles, and conduct, being fully tested. If there is just ground for suspicion, he is not sanctioned in his intentions to enter on the work of the ministry.

We are then to contemplate the labours of more than a thousand spiritual pastors and missionaries truly devoted to their work. Besides, they are able to occupy new uncultivated ground, without any law to prevent them. And in places where the population is rapidly increasing, they can use means to increase the number of labourers, without any hinderance being thrown in the way. These things give a power and an efficiency to the exertions of these men, which would be unknown to double the number of those who are trammelled by legal or canonical difficulties, though perhaps in the neighbourhood of a destitute and perishing population.

My decided conviction is, from all that I saw and heard, that the ministers in Pennsylvania compose an active and spiritual body of men. If there is any exception, it is among the German population, whose ministers are orthodox, but less zealous and devoted than the others. The people are, consequently, in a more formal and lukewarm condition, as it regards divine things. This is chiefly occasioned by their tenacious adherence to the German language, and their slender acquaintance with good books. They also stand aloof from other professing Christians; and have hardly any share in the impulse that has been given to other sections of the Christian church by revivals, and by the exertions of Bible, Missionary, and Sunday-school societies.

In speaking of the numbers of the different sects, it may be stated, that, as far as *communicants* are concerned, the Methodists rank the highest; though by no means equal in number, as a denomination, to the Presbyterians, who form the most influential body of Christians in the State. Their ministers are, generally, well educated and intelligent men, and the active supporters of the religious institutions of the day. It ought, however, in justice to be stated, that the comfort and usefulness of this denomination have been lessened by divisions in their church, between some of their best men, on points comparatively of minor importance. At the same time, it can be said that they have had a considerable share of those revivals of religion, which have taken place in different parts of the State. As far as that denomination is concerned, there appears to be a necessity for more forbearance with one another; less tendency to misapprehend each other's sentiments; a greater readiness to yield, on questions where *principle* is not affected; and a stronger desire to keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

LETTER X.

My dear Friend,

In looking at the religious statistics of Pennsylvania, it is to be considered, that, as no law ever existed in that State allowing or enjoining the different denominations to tax themselves for the support of their own system of religion, similar to what once existed in the New England States, the experiment of supporting religion without an establishment has, therefore, been more fairly made. It has also been tried in circumstances, which throw the greatest obstacles in the way of such a plan; viz. in newly-settled districts, and among a thinly-scattered population; and in towns which have rapidly increased in the number of their inhabitants. In the former case, our own country presents no point of resemblance; in the latter case, it does: and, therefore, we are better able to make a comparison. I will do this, by giving some particulars respecting Pittsburgh, situated on the western border of the State of Pennsylvania.

It contains 25,000 inhabitants, and has existed not more than fifty years. Its rapid increase has taken place during the last twenty years. This circumstance has thrown obstacles in the way of religious improvement. Being a manufacturing town, and containing a large class of operatives, who had come from England and Germany, the difficulty was increased. For there was not only rapidity in the increase, and variety among the persons who came to the place, but they were chiefly adults; so that instruction could not be provided in that gradual way, which is required by the natural increase of inhabitants; but at once a demand was made for a great assemblage of persons, too old to learn, and having much to unlearn. Great temptations were also placed before foreigners. Among these may be mentioned, high wages, and the low price of ardent spirits. These might

be procured for two shillings a gallon. Many, also, of those, who were temperate and steady, were chiefly influenced by the desire of accumulating property; and they looked to the farther West, hoping there to find the *el dorado* of their anticipations. Indeed, Pittsburgh was merely a resting-place to many emigrants, till they could fix on some more distant point, to which they might proceed. In such cases, they could have no interest in any religious institution of a permanent kind, which might be calculated to benefit the town. In addition to all this, there was the diversity of religious opinion amongst the people. Some of the denominations were able to secure religious ordinances for themselves; but others were too few and feeble to do so. Besides, this was a community of individuals, with nothing in common but the desire of gain; and though all had one object in view, this very circumstance often produced a spirit of competition, which was not at all favourable to unity of action, in promoting any Christian or benevolent enterprise. The character of society had not, as yet, time to be formed. The materials were there; but so diversified, that it was impossible to say what form it might assume. Here there was certainly much to dread, as it regarded the interests of religion. Yet it was religion alone that could correct the evils which existed; and its native, unassisted power to do so, has, in this case, been strikingly displayed.

In order that this may be seen at one glance, it will be better to give the Statistics of Pittsburgh, drawn up by two ministers on the spot: one of them being Dr. Halsey, the President in the Theological Seminary; and the other being the Rev. A. D. Campbell.

The population of Pittsburgh and suburbs is about 25,000.

Ecclesiastical Statistics.	Material.	Cost.	Will Seat.	Average attendance.	Communicants.
		Dollars			
1. Prebsyterians (Gen. Assembly.)	7 of brick	81,900	6,300	3,300	1,125
2. Associate Reformed (answering to the United Secession of Europe)	2 ditto.	18,000	2,000	1,300	576
3. Associate (answering to the Antiburgher body of Europe).	1 ditto.	6,000	750	400	330
4. Reformed Presbytery (answering to the Covenanters)	1 ditto.	4,000	650	400	200
5. Cumberland Connexion	1 ditto.	1,500	500	400	125
6. German (Reformed)	2 ditto.	10,500	968	630	320
7. German (Lutheran)	One forming.				
8. Baptist	3 of brick.	8,200	900	400	215
9. Campbellite Baptists.	1 of wood.	1,500	500	150	110
10. Methodists (Episco.)	5 (3 brick & 2 wd.)	4,925	2,950	2,600	1,024
11. Methodists (Protest.)	2 brick.	2,500	1,800		
12. Episcopalian	2 (1 wd. & 1 brick.)	17,700	1,050	500	170
13. Roman Catholic	2 brick.	46,500	4,200	3,000	2,900
14. Unitarian	1 ditto, small.				
Sunday Schools, 43.	30 churches.	203,225	22,568	13,080	7,095

Looking at these results, we cannot but admit, in this instance at least, the sufficiency of the voluntary principle; it has supplied religious instruction to all the inhabitants of the town, if they are willing to receive it, as well as school instruction for their children. I do not know a single town in Great Britain, with a population of twenty-five thousand, with such ample means of religious instruction. There may be towns where new churches have been built with grants of public money, and the ministers may be supported by endowments or by taxes. To these may be added, dissenting places of worship, and yet the aggregate will be found far behind this city in the Wilderness. It has, as already stated, sprung up within forty years. No provision is made by the State for religion, no individual is taxed to support even his own denomination; but all emanating from the people themselves, and supported annually by their free-will offerings. In such circum-

stances, the idea of taxing others to support their religious services could never have entered into their minds. Such injustice would excite universal abhorrence in that land. This continued support of Divine ordinances is given by men who are any thing but fanatics. They are sober, practical, and business-like men, who act on the honourable principle, that if they are to receive religious instruction, they ought to provide it for themselves, as they would do, in seeking to obtain possession of any other good.

But has this desire to obtain religious instruction gone no farther than themselves? In their wish to secure the gospel, have they forgotten others? Let the history of their Foreign Missionary Society answer these questions. Then, it may be asked again, do they direct all their energies to the distant heathen, and leave their ungodly neighbours and countrymen to perish? Certainly not. The very same ordinances which they support for their own edification are also the divinely appointed means for the conversion of sinners. The gospel is preached to the poor, and to all who are willing to hear it, without money, and without price, even though they may be too indifferent to its value to contribute their share in supporting it. And here we see the beauty and the universal adaptation of New Testament principles. The people of Christ can no where live contented without the bread of life dispensed in the public preaching of the truth, and they confine not the benefit to themselves. "*The Spirit and the* BRIDE *say, Come!*" Thus, the very places round about God's hill become a blessing; and the collective body, which supports a Christian pastor, as well as each individual member of it, is as a light shining in a dark place. Sinners are converted—the churches have numbers added to their communion—and as new inhabitants settle in the town, new places of worship are provided, and the good extends.

It will appear obvious, that considerable exertion must have been made to raise such large sums for the building of churches, and that similar efforts must be con-

tinued, in order to furnish the annual charges incurred in supporting the ministers and in keeping the buildings in repair. To accomplish all this, there must be a vitality about their system, which no compulsory mode of religion can possess. There are thirty places of worship in Pittsburgh—the least of which will seat five hundred persons, and the largest about fifteen hundred. Of these, twenty-six are orthodox Protestant congregations, of different denominations. The character of the ministry stands high for propriety of demeanour and for evangelical sentiment. The great peculiarities of the gospel are held and preached by them all, with the exceptions already mentioned. And it is a point deserving special notice, that there are upwards of four thousand communicants who have given credible evidence that they are Christians before they were admitted to the Lord's table. Such is Pittsburgh!

With regard to the character of the people of Pennsylvania, I can only speak generally. It is plain that a people, who contribute so liberally for places of religious worship and pastors for themselves, besides supporting many institutions for the benefit of others, must be considerably influenced by religion. From all that I saw, or could learn by inquiry, the Sabbath is not so strictly observed in this State as in New England, nor is domestic religion so generally prevalent as in that country. But I think I am warranted in saying, that the mass of the people are more under the influence of religion than with us. Among us, the very highest and the very lowest ranks are, perhaps, the least attentive to religious observances. In Pennsylvania, these extremes of society hardly exist. There are few very wealthy, and few very poor, persons. There are not many places in the State where those willing to be industrious may not find an adequate support. Immense quantities of land are yet to be settled, so that the children of the present inhabitants can find room to locate themselves, without going far into the Valley of the Mississippi. Indeed, I had much pleasure in observing the outward circum-

stances of the people. The lowest class of labourers could command a full supply of the necessaries of life. In visiting their log huts and cottages, and the dwellings of land owners, who are more numerous than tenants or servants, I found them generally in that happy state which was the object of Agur's prayer. They were freed alike from the temptations presented by luxurious living, and arising from abject poverty. The door of the dwelling where I resided for nearly a fortnight was never locked. Valuable articles were allowed to hang in the open air all night, and in the out-houses, and none of them were stolen. Travelling early in the morning, when the cottagers were asleep, I frequently discovered the same exposure of clothes to depredation. I made inquiry in different places, if it was generally so; and found that, except in the vicinity of large towns, no precautions to protect property were taken, and no depredations were committed.

When I approached the mountainous districts, many miles remote from cities, I naturally expected to see the people rude and uncouth in their manners. It was not so; the dress of the men was similar to what it was in the eastern parts of the State; and there was a neatness and a propriety in the dress of the females of all classes which most agreeably surprised me. Among those whom I met with, there was of course great diversity, both of character and condition. I entered freely into conversation with them. They were blunt in their manner, certainly, but never rude or offensive. I found them in general intelligent, and, especially, well acquainted with the constitution of their own country. Indeed, there is a remarkable acuteness in the agricultural population of Pennsylvania, as compared with the same class in our country. I was pleased to find that few—very few—ever indicated a *bad* feeling towards England. On the contrary, even among those who were decidedly irreligious, and *rather* vain of their own political rights and privileges, there was a respect and an interest shown for Great Britain that was gratifying

to me. The religious part of the community with which I necessarily came most into contact, invariably expressed their affection for England, and their earnest desire that peace might be uninterrupted; and that in every way, both by our political relations and religious institutions, we should benefit the world at large. I found, in conversation with persons in the stages, a decided respect for religion. In only two or three cases did I meet with profanity or infidelity, and these were evidently much disapproved of by the rest of the company. I was much annoyed, as other travellers have been before me, with a very disagreeable custom—the frequent use of tobacco, and that in its most offensive form. Even those, who of all men should "keep themselves pure," were sometimes guilty of yielding to this perverted and extraordinary taste for a poisonous narcotic.

In thus speaking so favourably of the people's respect for religion, I do not wish to be understood as saying that all the people are truly religious, or that the majority are under its sacred influence. There are in the towns, and no doubt in the country likewise, open opposers of religion, and neglecters of Divine ordinances, and who, if not controlled by laws and public opinion, would be ready to commit any excesses. But I think it may be asserted, that religion has a very extensive influence in all the ranks of which society is composed in that State, from the general and the judge to the inmate of the log hut, just beginning to clear the forest, and preparing to sow and reap. That it is more than sufficient to produce submission to the laws, and orderly behaviour, may safely be said; for a general regard is paid to the ordinances of religion, both in town and country. The chief drawback on the improvement of the people, is the influx of new settlers from other countries, who have no religion. Hence, there is much to be done besides supplying their own population with religious instruction. Vigorous measures are necessary to keep pace with the demands of new adult settlers, who are, in general, disinclined to serious things.

But are the religious people properly concerned for the education of their children? A satisfactory answer may be given to this inquiry, as far as the wealthy and respectable part of the community is concerned. There are nearly a hundred endowed academies and high schools, and nearly all the religious denominations have colleges and theological seminaries. Scattered throughout the State, there are great numbers of common or district schools, especially in the northern part, where many natives of New England are settled. At the same time it ought to be stated, that education is much neglected among the German population; and in various parts of the State it has not made that progress which it might and should have done. It may be said, indeed, that the subject of general education has not received that attention in former years which its importance demanded, and which the legislature appears now desirous to give. The proportion of the population under instruction is much less than in the other Middle or Eastern States. The resources of this State are great, but they have not by any means been developed, at least not in an equal degree with those of the State of New York, with which it is, perhaps, more fair to compare it, than with those which are older and smaller. This may be partly accounted for by referring, as we have already done, to the mingled character of the population, which has rendered it difficult for them to unite in any general plan. But the legislature has at length roused itself to discharge its duty. The subject of education for *all* the children of the State has been discussed; and last year a law was passed, which, when brought into operation, will, no doubt, supply most of the deficiencies which at present exist. The report on which the two Houses legislated, is one of an interesting character, and furnishes many important facts as to the operation of the common school system in a number of the American States.

After the preceding statement respecting a deficiency of education, it may appear somewhat remarkable, that

the number of newspapers is greater in proportion to the population than in any other of the old States. In the State of New York, containing nearly two millions of people, there are 267 newspapers; in Pennsylvania, there are 220; one sixth of the whole number to be found in the Union. I can only account for this fact, by supposing, that the distinctness preserved by the various classes of settlers leads each to provide their own vehicle of intelligence, rather than to support one of a larger and more general character. Of the number stated of these publications, the *religious* newspapers also bear a larger proportion to the amount of inhabitants than in the other States. This is a peculiar feature of the press in this country; and, while it must have an important bearing on the character of the people, it may, at the same time, be taken as an indication of what their prevailing character is. There is an eager desire for information on all points affecting the religious interests of the more distant parts of the State. And as each denomination is carrying on its own plans of Christian benevolence, it is natural that each should have its own medium of communication respecting these.

That there are disadvantages arising from this class of reading, when carried to a great extent, there can, I think, be no doubt. It too often supplies the place of more solid and useful instruction, and promotes indolent and desultory habits of thinking. And where a controversial spirit abounds, it is frequently strengthened and supplied with materials through this channel. It also tempts many writers to expend on ephemeral productions talents and energies, which, if rightly directed, would accomplish works of standard excellence. I found also that these publications *sometimes* interfere with the sacred hours of the Sabbath: and they are apt to make premature disclosures as to revivals of religion, or other promising appearances, which are better to remain private, till the test of time has confirmed the hopes excited by them.

With all these drawbacks, however, the religious

newspapers answer many valuable purposes. Among these may be mentioned the wide circulation they give to the transactions of the principal religious institutions. I was often surprised, in the most remote parts of the State, to find individuals acquainted with the most recent accounts of the operations of these societies in all parts of the world. And when the continuance of these operations requires increased pecuniary aid, an appeal can easily be made to Christians throughout the whole country. It has a tendency to keep the religious institutions in a state of purity and activity when they are thus kept constantly before the eye of the public. The churches of Christ in different places are better able to cherish mutual sympathies, when made acquainted with each other's circumstances. When intelligence is received of revivals in some other section of the State, a desire is awakened to enjoy a similar season of refreshing. This is a class of reading suited to the taste of the young; and it may be expected to diffuse a missionary spirit among them. And last, though not least, it is an important auxiliary in refuting dangerous errors. The absolute freedom of the press, and the cheapness of periodicals, have enabled the irreligious and the sceptical to circulate their mischievous doctrines. They must be encountered with their own weapons, and it is of great consequence that their attacks should meet with a speedy repulse. A monthly magazine would be too tardy and too unwieldy an instrument of defence. Truth is important, in whatever form it is communicated; and we may hope that, among the many who have acquired a taste for reading in this way, some will be found whose increasing thirst for knowledge will lead them on to cultivate severer studies.

The intellectual tone and character of the people may thus gradually be improved. And as the first step towards this improvement, I think it would be desirable to reduce the number of the publications under review, and by this means to concentrate more of the talent and excellence, which are now scattered through them all.

There is nothing in the history of Pennsylvania more remarkable than the rapid increase of the different religious denominations during the last thirty years. The population has more than doubled since 1801; but the number of the ministers and congregations has increased at a much greater ratio. The Presbyterians are now nearly as numerous, in Pennsylvania alone, as they were in the whole United States in 1800. The Episcopalians have increased fourfold since 1801; and the others, with the exception of the German Reformed Church, have multiplied nearly to the same extent. It is also gratifying to know, that while the orthodox sects have been making such rapid advances, the preaching of error has not prospered. The Unitarians make no progress. It is with some difficulty that they can keep up a congregation, even in Philadelphia. It may be said with truth, that they have not six congregations, or six ministers, in the whole State. The Universalists are more numerous, but there is no reason to believe that they are *increasing* in numbers or in influence. Indeed, in various places, the orthodox are making inroads on them, and will, no doubt, eventually destroy them, as error must ever flee before the light of truth.

In conclusion, it must be confessed that the Christians of Pennsylvania have yet a great deal to accomplish, in order to do full justice to their principles, their obligations, their country, and the world. They have by no means kept pace with some of the other States, in zeal for the missionary cause, and for the circulation of the Bible. They have done less for week-day and Sunday schools, for colleges, and theological seminaries, than some other States with fewer resources than they have at their command. The Temperance cause has not made that progress which it has done elsewhere. There is, however, every reason to believe, that in all these respects they are improving.

It is not my province to speak of the progress made by this State in commerce, agriculture, science, and wealth. On these subjects I could only give extracts

from documents which are accessible to many; and I should be departing, in a great measure, from the object of the mission.

The time which I spent in the State was pleasantly passed. I could not but become attached to the people They were invariably kind and hospitable. Their domestic manners were simple and unostentatious; free and communicative, without rudeness; and partaking much of the character of the best specimens of our own agricultural population. They are aware that there is much room for improvement. They have around them, in their own republic, striking examples of what may be done by zeal and perseverance; so that we may confidently hope that, in a few years, they will equal the Eastern States in all that is intellectual, moral, and religious.

I cannot close this brief notice of one of the States of this immense empire, without expressing my warmest wishes for its continued prosperity. As an individual, I feel my obligations to many of the Christians of that land. Their kindness I cannot forget. Their character I shall always esteem, and their friendship I shall ever value. The many farewells that I was obliged to take of Christian friends, formed the most trying part of my duty. A meeting with them all again is one of my brightest and most delightful anticipations. That religion, which brought us together, and at once inspired mutual confidence, gives us good hope respecting the future. In happier circumstances, we may expect to meet; and surrounded by recollections that will render renewed intercourse the subject of increasing praise. Oh, for a place in that vast assembly, which no man shall be able to number, and from which none shall go out any more for ever!

APPENDIX.

I.

Copies of Marriage Certificates.

THIS MAY CERTIFY,

That Mr.
and M *were*
SOLEMNLY UNITED IN MARRIAGE
on the of the of in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty- according to the ordinance of God, and the legal prescriptions of the State of New-York.

WITNESSES:

Officiating Minister,
and Pastor of the Presbyterian Church.
New-York, *A.D.* 183

This is to certify, *That on the day of in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty- at in the county of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania,*

and

were, by me, united in the bonds of MARRIAGE, *according to the form of the Presbyterian Church, and the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.*

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, *I have hereunto set my hand, on the day and year above written.*

II.

Copies of Letters Missive.

The Bowdoin-street Church, in Boston,
To the Ecclesiastical Council, to be convened on the second Thursday of the present month, to organize (if deemed expedient) a new Evangelical Congregational Church,

SENDETH GREETING.

At a meeting of the Bowdoin-street Church, held September the 7th, 1834, a letter from Jacob Abbott, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, requesting the presence of that Church, by its Pastor and Delegate, for the purpose of organizing a new church at Roxbury, on Thursday, the 18th instant, having been read,

It was Voted—To comply with this request; and thereupon, Brother Deacon Daniel Noyes was appointed Delegate.

A true record,

(Attest) GEO. WM. PHILLIPS, *Clk.*

Boston, September 8, 1834.

Ordination of Mr. Abbott.

Roxbury, September 15, 1834.

To the Rev. ANDREW REED.

A number of individuals, resident in Roxbury and vicinity, having felt themselves called upon, in the providence of God, to take measures for the formation of a Church of Christ here, and having taken the necessary preliminary steps, you are hereby invited to sit upon an Ecclesiastical Council called for this purpose. The Council will meet at the Hall in Mr. Spear's Academy, on Thursday of this week, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The Council will also be requested, if they see fit, to ordain Mr. Jacob Abbott as an Evangelist.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements,

J. ABBOTT, Chairman

The other Pastors called are, Mr. Burgess, of Dedham; Mr. Giles, of Milton; Dr. Codman, of Dorchester; Messrs. Wisner, Anderson, Adams, Jenks, Blagden, and Winslow, of Boston; and Rev. Dr. Matheson.

III.

Order of Exercises.

COMMENCEMENT AT AMHERST COLLEGE, 1834.

PRAYER.

1. Salutatory Oration.
2. Essay.—Patriotism.
3. Essay.—Common Sense.
4. Discussion.—Fact and Fiction.
5. Essay.—Excitement.
6. Essay.—Independence.
7. Disquisition.—Propriety of Appeals to the Passions.
8. Oration.—Moral Influence of Works of Imagination.
9. Dissertation.—Guilt, as affected by Temptation.
10. Dissertation.—Progress of Society.
11. Disputation.—Is Phrenology entitled to special Attention from its practical Utility?
12. Dissertation.—Bibliomania.
13. Discussion.—Expediency of making Temperance a subject of Legislation.
14. Poem.—Death of Byron.
15. Essay.—Contrasted Character of Napoleon and Howard.
16. Oration.—The Memory of La Fayette.
17. Dissertation.—Despotism.
18. Oration.—Natural History of Eloquence.
19. Philosophical Oration.—Emotions.
20. Disputation.—Are encomiums upon the Dead beneficial to the Living?
21. Philosophical Oration.—Mind.
22. Oration.—Skepticism in cultivated Society.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

23. Oration.—Influence of physical Science: with the Valedictory Addresses.

PRAYER.

IV.

Order of Exercises.

ANDOVER COMMENCEMENT, SEPT. 10, 1834.

FORENOON.

PRAYER.

1. Gen., ii., 17.—The tree of knowledge of good and evil.
2. Doctrinal preaching eminently proper in a revival of religion.
3. Influence of Calvin on civil and religious liberty.
4. On the Monthly Concert.
5. Inquiry respecting the meaning of 1 Cor., vi., 2, 3.
6. Preaching modified by the spirit of the age.

7. The faithful Pastor.
8. Love to God.
9. Exposition of Rev. vi., 13.
10. Deficiency of classical literature in the spirit of the gospel.

SACRED MUSIC.

11. Augustine.
12. Evil of Sin.
13. Does the word יום, in Gen. i., mean the term of a natural day?
14. Analogical preaching.
15. Evils resulting from the frequent removal of Ministers.
16. On Holiness.
17. How would the conversion of Palestine affect the interpretation of the Scriptures?
18. Puritan preaching.
19. Uniformity of the method of Providence in the spread of Christianity.
20. Source of lax Theology.
21. On Heb. i., 14.—The Ministry of good Angels.
22. The religious attitude of Greece.

SACRED MUSIC.

AFTERNOON.

SACRED MUSIC.

23. Influence of eminent piety on the eloquence of the Pulpit.
24. The true end of human and divine knowledge, the same.
25. Remarks on Isa. lxiii., 1—6.
26. Causes of inefficient preaching.
27. Agency of the Christian preacher in the sinner's Conversion.
28. Agency of the Holy Spirit in the sinner's Conversion.
29. Agency of the sinner in his own Conversion.
30. Pious feeling as connected with pastoral duties.
31. The true test of pulpit eloquence.
32. On 2 Pet., iii., 10.—"The earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."
33. What bearing should the laws of interpretation have upon Christian Theology?
34. Is self-love the foundation of religion?
35. Efficiency of voluntary associations.
36. Revivals of religion in England.

HEBREW CHANT. ORIGINAL HYMN.

PRAYER. BENEDICTION.

V.

Articles of Faith, and Form of Covenant, adopted by one of the Congregational Churches in Lowell, Massachusetts.

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

I. We believe, that there is but one God, the Creator, Preserver, and Moral Governor of the Universe; a being of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, justice, goodness, and truth; the self-existent, independent, and immutable Fountain of good.

II. We believe, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God; that they are profitable for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness; and that they are our only rule of doctrinal belief and religious practice.

III. We believe, that in the Godhead there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

IV. We believe, that God has made all things for himself; that known unto him are all his works from the beginning: and that he governs all things according to the counsel of his own will.

V. We believe, that the law and government of God are holy, just, and good.

VI. We believe, that God at first created man in his own image, in a state of rectitude and holiness, and that he fell from that state by transgressing the divine command in the article of forbidden fruit.

VII. We believe, that in consequence of the first apostacy, the heart of man in his natural state is destitute of holiness, and in a state of positive disaffection with the law, character, and government of God: and that all men, previous to regeneration, are dead in trespasses and sins.

VIII. We believe, that Christ, the Son of God, has, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, made an atonement for sin; that he is the only Redeemer of sinners; and that all who are saved will be altogether indebted to the grace and mercy of God for their salvation.

IX. We believe, that although the invitation of the Gospel is such, that whosoever will may come and take of the water of life freely; yet the depravity of the human heart is such that no man will come to Christ, except the Father, by the special and efficacious influences of his Spirit, draw him.

X. We believe, that those who embrace the Gospel were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blame before him in love; and that they should be saved, not by works of righteousness which they

have done, but according to the distinguishing mercy of God, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.

XI. We believe, that those who cordially embrace Christ, will be kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation.

XII We believe, that there will be a general resurrection of the bodies both of the just and unjust.

XIII. We believe, that all mankind must one day stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive the just and final sentence of retribution, according to the deeds done in the body; and that, at the day of judgment, the state of all will be unalterably fixed; and that the punishment of the wicked and the happiness of the righteous will be endless.

XIV. We believe, that the Sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that believers in regular church standing only can consistently partake of the Lord's Supper; and that visible believers and their households only can consistently be admitted to the ordinance of Baptism.

FORM OF COVENANT.

You do now, in the presence of God and men, avouch the Lord Jehovah to be your God, the supreme object of your affection, and your chosen portion for ever. You cordially acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ in all his mediatorial offices, Prophet, Priest, and King, as your only Saviour and final Judge; and the Holy Spirit as your Sanctifier, Comforter, and Guide. You humbly and cheerfully devote yourself to God in the everlasting covenant of grace; you consecrate all your powers and faculties to his service and glory; and you promise, that, through the assistance of his Spirit and grace, you will cleave to him as your chief good; that you will give diligent attention to his word, and worship, and ordinances; that you will seek the honour of his name, and the interests of his kingdom; and that henceforth, denying all ungodliness and every worldly lust, you will live soberly, and righteously, and godly in the world.

You do now cordially join yourself to this as a Church of Christ, engaging to submit to its discipline, so far as conformable to the rules of the gospel; and solemnly covenanting to strive, as far as in you lies, for its gospel peace, edification, and purity; and to walk with its members in all member-like love, faithfulness, circumspection, meekness, and sobriety. Thus you covenant and promise.

We then, the members of this Church of Christ, do now receive you into our communion, and promise to watch over you with Christian affection and tenderness, ever treating you in love as a member of the body of Christ, who is head over all things to the Church.

This we do, imploring the Great Shepherd of Israel, our Lord

and Redeemer, that both we and you may have wisdom and grace to be faithful in his covenant, and to glorify him with the holiness which becomes his house for ever.

And now, beloved in the Lord, let it be deeply impressed upon your minds, that you have entered into new and solemn obligations. Henceforward, you can never be as you have been. The vows which, in presence of God, angels, and men, you have now assumed, will follow you through life to the judgment-seat of Christ; and in whatever state your final destiny be fixed, they will for ever abide upon you. If you walk worthily of your profession, you will be to us an ornament and a delight; but if otherwise, a shame, a grief of heart, and a vexation. And if a wo be pronounced against him who offends one of Christ's little ones, wo, wo be to him who offends a whole church! But, beloved, be not overwhelmed by these considerations; for we are persuaded better things concerning you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. May the Lord guide you by his counsel; and, when the trials of this short warfare shall have been ended, receive you and us to the church triumphant in glory, where our love shall be for ever perfect, and our joy for ever full!

VI.

The Law on Religion.

THE LAW AS IT WAS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality:—therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature *shall, from time to time, authorize and require*, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, and religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority *to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers afore-*

said, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend:— Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised. And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

AMENDMENT AS PROPOSED IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1820.

As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the public worship of God; and as the public worship of God will be best promoted by recognising the unalienable right of every man to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of his own conscience; therefore, no person shall by law be compelled to join, or support, or be classed with, or associated to, any congregation or religious society whatever; but every person now belonging to any religious society, whether incorporated or unincorporated, shall be considered a member thereof, until he shall have separated himself therefrom, in the manner hereinafter provided. And each and every society, or denomination of Christians, in this State, shall have and enjoy the same and equal power, rights, and privileges, and shall have power and authority to raise money, for the support and maintenance of religious teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses of public worship, by a tax on the members of any such society only, to be laid by a major vote of the legal voters assembled at any society meeting, warned and held according to law.

Provided nevertheless, that if any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by said society.

And every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be

equally under the protection of the law, and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW AS IT IS IN MASSACHUSETTS, PASSED IN JUNE, 1833.

As the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality; therefore, to promote their happiness and secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance thereof. *Provided*, that all religious societies shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance, and, provided also, that the obligations of no existing contract shall be hereby impaired.

And all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

THE LAW IN VIRGINIA.

Be it therefore enacted, by the General Assembly, "That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities."

Act for the establishing of Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia, A. D. 1786.

THE LAW IN NEW-JERSEY AND GEORGIA.

No person shall ever, within this colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience: nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment: nor shall any person within this colony ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes

to be right, or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

THE LAW IN NEW-YORK, CONNECTICUT, CAROLINA, AND MISSISSIPPI.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall, for ever hereafter, be allowed within this State to all mankind: Provided, that the liberty of conscience thereby declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

THE LAW OF PENNSYLVANIA, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS.

All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences: and no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

VII.

Welsh Settlements.

Ebensburgh, July 20, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLY to my promise, I shall endeavour to give you a brief sketch of the history of the society denominated Independents in this place. In the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, a considerable number of Welsh families emigrated from Wales to this country. The Rev. Morgan J. Rhees, an educated and respectable Baptist minister, was among the first of them. They came with the intention of forming a Welsh settlement in some convenient place, and Mr. Rhees, acting as their leader, applied to Congress to grant a tract of land for this purpose. In this he did not succeed, and many other attempts to obtain a suitable spot were equally unsuccessful. It appeared as if Providence shut and bolted every door against us, only the one on the top of the Allegany mountain. Mr. Rhees formed forty or fifty of the Welsh people, who found a temporary residence in and about Philadelphia, into a church; containing nearly an equal number of Baptists, Independents, and Calvinistic Methodists. Mr. Rhees administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, I think, in July, 1796. I still think that we enjoyed a very precious and refreshing season. Mr. Rees Lloyd, an Independent minister, administered the Supper in the same church in August. In the fall of that year, and the spring of 1797, a number of families arrived at this place, and in April the Independent Church was formed, con-

sisting of twenty-four members ; of these, twelve had belonged to the Calvinistic Methodists. The Rev. Rees Lloyd, who had been ordained in Wales, drew up a confession of his faith, which agreed in substance with the Assembly's Catechism ; and a church covenant, consisting of ten particulars, all of which were adopted by the church ; and at that time they chose Mr. Lloyd to be their pastor, and your humble servant to be deacon. The church progressed perhaps as might be expected, labouring for many years under many disadvantages, the country being new. The Lord's Supper was administered once every four weeks, except in some instances, when wine could not be had. Once a fortnight, on a Wednesday, we met for devotional exercises and conversation on religious subjects, doctrinal and experimental. Mr. Lloyd preached generally twice every Sabbath. Our toil and difficulties in the wilderness were great. We were much scattered, and had no roads ; but we often found it good to draw near to God, in attending to the means above mentioned. By the best accounts we have, we received ten persons by letter, before the close of the year 1801 ; and from that time till the close of 1809, we received by letter nineteen, and by examination twenty-nine. It ought to be recorded with gratitude, that in the year 1804, the Lord in a very gracious manner visited the settlement with a precious revival. "The Lord did for us at this time great things ; our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing." The greater part of the number last mentioned, as received by examination, may be considered as the fruit of this revival ; and these, with few exceptions, have held on their way. In the year 1805, I was called by the church to speak publicly, by way of trial ; and in June, 1806, was ordained by Mr. Lloyd, and called by the church to officiate as co-pastor with him. Mr. William Tibbot, who had preached for many years in Wales, was ordained at the same time ; and coming to live at the settlement, he was shortly after called by the church to be co-pastor with Mr. Lloyd and myself. In the fall of 1817, Mr. Lloyd left us on the most friendly terms, and went to serve a vacant church, composed chiefly of Welsh people, within twenty-three miles of Cincinnati. He is yet living, but is now superannuated. In January, 1822, Mr. Tibbot's connexion with the church was dissolved under very unpleasant circumstances ; and in 1827 he died. He was an excellent preacher ; I have no doubt that his ministry had been owned and blessed in a special manner. In the summer of 1822, Mr. Morris Jones arrived here from Wales. In the following winter he was called by the church to exercise his gifts as a speaker ; and in April, 1827, he accepted a unanimous call to serve them as co-pastor with myself. In August, 1826, it pleased the Lord to cause somewhat of a shaking among the dry bones ; and in a few months about twenty persons were admitted as members, whom we consider as the fruits

of this excitement. We enjoyed at that time some sweet and precious seasons. The church, since Mr. Tibbot left us, has progressed with a good degree of unanimity, and contains at this time upwards of two hundred members in full communion, and living within four or five miles of our meeting-house. Our meetings, and our Sunday school (which commenced in 1819), have been, and continue to be, well attended. We have been for some years in a very lukewarm state, yet not without occasional additions. We can say with good John Newton, that we are not what we ought to be, what we would be, or what we hope to be; yet I trust that we are not what we once were; and that it is by the grace of God we are what we are. We should not forget the goodness of God, among many other things, in giving us a convenient house in which to worship him. It is a good strong building of brick, forty feet square, with galleries on three sides. It cost us about one thousand four hundred dollars; the money was nearly all collected among us, without any serious difficulty, and paid according to contract.

Hoping that you and your Rev. colleague may return to your families and charges very much animated, that your visit may be a great blessing to both countries, and that you may be very useful till death, I remain, with Christian affection,

GEORGE ROBERTS.

REMARKS.—The *Common Schools* are numerous and sufficient; all the voluntary provision of the instructers and the neighbourhood. Classical education is also supplied to all who choose to pay the price of tuition, by teachers who depend on their reputation and skill for support. It is rarely found that any citizen (unless from Europe) is unable to read or write; the freedom of the press, the elective franchise, the absence of monopolies and all restraints upon industry and ascent, together with the diffusion of moral influence from the different religious societies, are found to produce excitement enough to secure a practical and universal education.

Objects, *benevolent and moral*, are found to be attained by voluntary exertion. We have one asylum for the *poor*, which is provided by the city. But as a result of the popular nature of our political organization, and the general diffusion of knowledge, a spirit of independence is generated among the poor, which makes them averse to their being withdrawn from the mass of citizens. Our public paupers are therefore few. Our churches, generally, have a stated collection, at the season of administering the "Lord's Supper," which sum is applied to the occasional and partial needs of the poor of the congregations, by the pastor and other church officers. Our winters are long, and in this season, the females and children of the labouring families are occasionally in need of some addition to their supplies, such as fuel, flannels, hose, &c.

A *Benevolent Association of Ladies* explores the several wards of the city, and furnishes what may be needed. *Orphans* may be accommodated by the city, at the asylum for the poor. But the ladies of the different religious denominations have formed themselves into one benevolent association for the more complete supervision of this interesting class of sufferers. The society has obtained "incorporation," and obtained adequate funds for their institution from private contributions. We have also for the improvement of morals, besides the ordinary religious influence of the sanctuary, the Bible, and Tract, and Sunday school Associations, which severally explore every corner of the city. The *Temperance Society*, and a very large and influential "Society of Young Men" (under thirty years of age), unite to promote the general interests of morality and knowledge. They publish a weekly paper called "The Friend,"—have founded a public library,—and are extending branches through the neighbouring districts. The influence of all these associations is decided and manifest, but they are not so efficient and complete as their evident advance gives promise that they will be. Our city is recent, composed of individuals from all nations, who have not got rid of all those peculiarities and prejudices which are partial impediments to combination and sufficient action. But associated action is daily improving; suppleness, mutual confidence, and success, are redeeming previous defect. You are aware we have a double task to perform; to amend the obliquities and perfect the characters of our settled population, and properly dispose of a host of emigrants, consisting of the more neglected population of Europe.

In the statistical table furnished above, we have not found ourselves at liberty, or inclined to make any alterations, as the information was furnished by the several denominations, and is, we believe, substantially correct, with the exception of No. 13, which, although believed by the reporter, we are confident is overdrawn, as is the estimate of their force through the nation at large. We might add, that in the circle contemplated by this report, are seated the *Theological Schools* of the Associated Reformed Church, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, both of which have received considerable donations from the vicinity. LUTHER STALSEY. A. L. CAMPBELL.

VIII.

History of the Free Churches in the City of New-York.

TO REV. ANDREW REED, LONDON.

New-York, February 1, 1835.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Our mutual friend, Rev. William Patton, having communicated to me your desire to receive information concerning the Free

Churches in this city, I will very cheerfully give you such facts in my possession as may be interesting and useful to you or others on this subject. It would have given much pleasure to any of the brethren, conversant with the facts, to have communicated them to you when you were in this city, if they had enjoyed the opportunity. And as other persons have made similar inquiries, it may not be improper to publish this letter for their information also.

In the month of May, 1830, two individuals (the one a member of the Reformed Dutch, and the other of the Presbyterian Church) who had frequently mourned together over the desolations of Zion, invited a meeting of three or four Christian friends to deliberate upon the subject of commencing a new church. Rev. Joel Parker, then pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New-York (being providentially in the city), was invited to attend the meeting. The brethren interchanged their feelings and opinions with respect to the state of religion in the city; the almost total exclusion of the poor from the Presbyterian and Dutch Churches; the great neglect of the careless and impenitent on the part of professing Christians; and the importance of more direct and faithful efforts for their conversion. The result of this conference was a pledge on the part of the five individuals referred to, to take prompt measures for the commencement of a new congregation; a guarantee of a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of public worship; and an engagement on the part of Mr. Parker to be the minister, provided his own church and presbytery would consent to his removal.

The church at Rochester, with a readiness and unanimity worthy of all commendation, consented to the translation of their beloved pastor to a field of greater usefulness; and the new congregation in New-York commenced its existence under his ministry on the 27th June, 1830, in a room formerly occupied as a lecture-room by Rev. John B. Romeyn, Thames-street.

It is worthy of remark here, that the church that had so disinterestedly given up their pastor, was blessed temporally and spiritually immediately after, thereby verifying the divine promise, "He that watereth, shall be watered also himself." The congregation made a successful effort to pay off a large debt that had greatly troubled them, and one of the most powerful revivals of religion took place in that congregation and city that has been known in this country.

The congregation in Thames-street originally consisted of only three families. The "upper room" where they assembled had been hastily fitted up to accommodate about 350 persons, at an expense not exceeding 125 dollars. A Sabbath school was commenced the first Lord's day, composed of five children, and one of the projectors as superintendent. Public notice had been given by placards posted up in the streets, and advertisements in the

newspapers, of the new place of public worship. The congregation at first was about forty persons, and gradually increased to nearly 400, filling the hall and the passages. There were two sessions of the Sabbath schools every Lord's day, and three religious services; Mr. Parker regularly delivering three discourses every Sabbath, and a lecture on each Wednesday evening, besides attending a church prayer-meeting once a week at a private dwelling-house. About half the sermons were wholly extemporaneous. The Holy Spirit appeared to attend the preached word from the beginning. A young woman was hopefully converted under the first sermon, and the number of persons awakened increased weekly.

Application was made to the American Home Missionary Society to take this infant congregation under its charge; but on account of the unpopularity of the undertaking, the Executive Committee thought it prudent to decline the overture. Application was next made to the First Presbytery of New-York, to organize the church under the name of the First Free Church of the city of New-York. Great opposition was made in this ecclesiastical body. The *name* (Free Church) was objected to, and the necessity of a new church in the lower part of the city was denied. It was also said that a new church and Sabbath school could not be built up without subtracting the members and scholars from existing churches and Sabbath schools; and strong doubts were expressed as to the abilty of the persons engaged in the enterprise to sustain it. At length a commission was appointed to organize the church; and this solemnity, together with the ordination of two elders, took place on the 22d September, 1830. The church consisted of sixteen members, seven male and nine female.

The church had the communion on the first Sabbath in each month, and received accessions on every occasion; and the Sabbath school rapidly increased. In order to ascertain the moral destitution of this section of the city (the first ward containing at that time not less than nine churches of different denominations), various experiments were made. One of them was the following:—The Sabbath school teachers districted the whole ward, and visited it for the purpose of ascertaining the number of young persons who did not attend any Sabbath school. In three weeks eighty-seven persons, who were not attached to any other, were enrolled in our school. In these visitations, families and individuals were invited to attend the meeting, and suitable places were sought out in which to hold neighbourhood prayer-meetings. The keepers of two groceries consented to have prayer-meetings held over their shops, and it was observed that thereafter they did not open them for the sale of liquors, as before, on the Sabbath.

On the 20th of February, 1831, owing to their place of worship

being too small to accommodate all the persons who thronged to hear the word, the congregation met in the Masonic Hall, in Broadway, at that time the largest and most central hall in the city. Here it continued to assemble until the 9th October. After the commencement of public worship in this hall, it was usually filled. The Sabbath school was greatly increased, and several Bible classes were formed. The minister, elders, teachers in the Bible classes and Sabbath school, and, in fact, every member of the church, considered it their duty to labour personally and unitedly for the *immediate* conversion of sinners. They believed it to be sinful, and leading people to perdition, to tell them to "wait God's time," or to tell them to "go home and repent;" and therefore inculcated that God required sinners to repent NOW. The teachers in the Sabbath school felt that they could not continue to teach unless some of their scholars were converted every Lord's day. The consequence was, conversions took place continually, and the school and Bible classes were made truly the nursery of the church. The hall being situated in one of the great thoroughfares of the city, many persons who stepped in from curiosity were convicted and converted. Among others, a young man, who ran in to escape a shower, was hopefully converted the same evening.

Real estate is extravagantly high in the lower part of the city, and the congregation did not possess the means of purchasing lots and building a house for public worship. Four substantial brick stores, occupied by grocers, at the corner of Dey and Washington-streets, forming an area of seventy feet by eighty, being offered at auction, it was ascertained that the upper lofts could be converted into a chapel, while the first story could be let for enough to cover the interest of the purchase money, and part of the expense of fitting up a place for public worship. After seeking divine direction, the estate was purchased. Money was hired on a long term of years for a large part of the cost, and a bond and mortgage given as security; a part of the balance was hired on the personal security of a few members of the church, while the expense of fitting up the house was raised by subscription, chiefly among the congregation. The chambers were thrown into a hall, the walls were raised, and the place prepared to accommodate from 800 to 1,000 persons, being exactly of the same size as the church in Broome-street, occupied by the congregation lately under the pastoral care of Rev. William Patton. The expense was about 7,000 dollars. The congregation voted to have all the seats FREE, and consequently dispensed with pew doors. Experience had shown that the system of free churches, if judiciously planned and properly sustained, was the means, under God, of drawing in large numbers of persons who are too often excluded from houses of public worship, in consequence of the pews being owned or occupied by those who make no direct efforts to accom-

modate persons in humble life, or those who need to be urged to attend public worship.

As it had been determined by the congregation not to let the stores underneath the church to tenants who trafficked in ardent spirits, the persons who had occupied them for several years were notified thereof, when it was found that the stores could not be leased, with this condition, for so much, by several hundred dollars per annum, as they otherwise could have been. But the congregation adhering to their determination, a change of tenants took place. Hard things were said at the time by many professors of religion at this ultra procedure, but the church had the gratification to receive into its communion, soon after, some individuals from the immediate neighbourhood, who had recently renounced the business of selling "distilled damnation" by the cask and quart. Two of them are now elders of this church.

The new church having been completed, the congregation assembled there on the 16th day of October, 1831. It was crowded the first Sabbath. So many accessions were made to the church soon after a protracted meeting, which commenced immediately after the church was opened for public worship, that it was deemed a duty to commence a second free church without delay. Accordingly, on the 14th of February, 1832, three of the elders, together with thirty-six other members, were organized into a church, under the title of the SECOND FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of *New-York*. They met in Broadway Hall, about a mile from the Dey-street church, until the following May. Rev. E. P. Barrows preached as stated supply during this period, and his labours were blessed in the conversion of many souls.

Rev. Charles G. Finney having been invited to the city, by individuals belonging to the First and Second Free Churches, and the spacious Chatham-street Theatre having been procured, and fitted up for a place of public worship, and for the religious anniversaries, it was deemed best to relinquish the plan for the present of a Third Free Church, and to invite the Second Free Church to occupy the old theatre, now styled the CHATHAM-STREET CHAPEL. Accordingly, on the 6th May, 1832, they assembled at the place, and Mr. Finney preached from these words, "*Who is on the Lord's side?*" The expense of fitting up the theatre for a house of God, and converting the saloons into lecture and Sabbath school-rooms, was nearly 7,000 dollars; and about half of that sum was contributed by members of other churches, on condition that the chapel might be occupied by the public at the religious anniversaries. On the 28th September, Mr. Finney was installed pastor, by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery (a branch of the first Presbytery). Sermon by Mr. Parker, from these words: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

It is supposed that the chapel will contain at least 2,500 persons. The attendance has generally been large, and frequently the house is filled. For three weeks in succession it has been known to be crowded every evening, during a protracted meeting, Mr. Finney preaching every evening.

Several of the young members of the two Free Churches, seeing how remarkably God had prospered the efforts already made to convert sinners, and being desirous to be more useful than they could be in these churches, already so large, resolved to commence another Free Church. One of them, a young mechanic, who had been converted in the First Free Church, stated, that "he felt it to be his duty to do something for the cause of Christ; that it was seven months since he had professed religion, and he had done but little; and that he was willing to give of the Lord's money committed to him, one thousand dollars a year, for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom in the city." A similar spirit actuated his associates, and they gave according "as the Lord had prospered them." After consultation and prayer, the colonists assembled for public worship at the Masonic Hall, on the 9th December, 1832. Rev. D. C. Lansing, who had been invited from Utica, New-York, to take the pastoral charge, preached on the occasion. The church, consisting of thirty-five members, was organized at the same time by a commission appointed by the third Presbytery of New-York. Dr. Lansing was installed on the 10th February, 1833, and two of the young men were ordained elders, July 14. A lot of ground, eligibly situated at the corner of Houston and Thomson-streets, in the eighth ward, having been procured, a spacious, but neat house of public worship was erected, at an expense of about 11,000 dollars. The congregation assembled in it December 29th, 1833, being precisely one year from the formation of the church; and the vicinity has been found to be a great field of usefulness.

On the 5th January, 1834, a colony from the Second Church, consisting of thirty-five persons, commenced a new congregation, called the Fourth Free Presbyterian Church. They first met in a hall at the corner of Hester-street and the Bowery, under the ministry of Rev. Arthur Granger. On the 19th day of October, 1834 (Mr. Granger having taken a dismission), the Rev. Isaac Newton Sprague was installed pastor. The congregation hired the old brewery in the fourth ward, at the corner of Madison and Catharine-streets, where public worship was commenced on the 9th day of November, 1834.

The congregation have recently purchased these lots for the purpose of erecting a church, on the plan of the First Free Church, and meantime a spacious hall has been hired at the corner of the Bowery and Division-street, that will contain from 800 to 1,000 persons, and the congregation will occupy it until their edifice shall be completed.

Preparations are making by members of the First and Third Free Churches, together with some individuals from the old churches, to form a FIFTH FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in a convenient and central situation. One of the churches heretofore organized on the old system has recently received a small colony from the Third Free Church, and will be organized as the Sixth Free Church in the city.

The First Free Church has admitted 753 members; 301 males and 452 females; 493 of whom united on profession of faith, and 260 on certificates from other churches. The adult baptisms have been 303, and 27 young men are preparing for the ministry. Rev. Joel Parker's pastoral relation to this church terminated on the 27th day of October, 1833, by the unanimous consent of the church, in obedience to the Saviour's injunction, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and he embarked for New-Orleans, to take charge of the Second Presbyterian Church in that city, on the 1st November, 1833. Rev. Jacob Helffeinstein has been preaching subsequently as stated supply.

The Second Free Church has admitted 426 members; 145 males and 281 females; of whom 302 were added on profession, and 104 on certificate. The adult baptisms have been 106. Nine young men belonging to this church are studying for the ministry. Two members of this church, one male and one female, are engaged in the foreign missionary service.

The Third Free Church has admitted 344 members; 115 males and 229 females; of whom 203 were added on profession, and 141 on certificate. Twelve are studying for the ministry, and two are in the foreign missionary service.

The Fourth Free Church has admitted 64 members; 22 males and 42 females; of whom 26 were added on profession, and 38 on certificate. Three are studying for the ministry, and one is preparing for the missionary service.

It is believed that more than half the persons who are hopefully converted in these congregations, unite with other churches, owing to various circumstances. A large portion of those who have here made profession of religion have not been previously baptized, which fact, while it shows that they have been brought up in families destitute of piety, evinces the importance of free churches, where the poor and neglected may have greater opportunity to hear the gospel preached. This fact shows also the happy results attending the personal efforts made by the members of these churches, in inviting and encouraging the impenitent to attend church and Bible classes. New circles of religious influence are thus formed, and the gospel, in living epistles, is carried to hundreds of families, which otherwise might have continued to live as heathens in a Christian land. The "aggressive movements" of these churches among the population of this city, have thus been attended with most happy effects. Sinners have been plucked as fire-

brands out of the burning, and made to rejoice in God their Saviour.

Sabbath schools and Bible classes have been, from the beginning, objects of prime concern with the Free Churches. The districts near them have frequently been explored, and invitations given to the poor, and those who neglected the house of God, to attend church, and send their children to the Sabbath school. The teachers in these schools have uniformly been professors of religion, for it is thought improper to intrust the souls of the young to the guidance of teachers who themselves have not been taught by the Spirit of God. It is said, I know, that impenitent teachers have sometimes been converted while acting as Sabbath school teachers. True; but it is not known how many scholars have been made infidels by receiving religious instruction from "blind leaders of the blind." A single fact shows what intelligent children think of this matter. A little girl, not ten years old, said to her teacher, "I am afraid you will never lead me to heaven."—"Why not?" asked the teacher. "Because," said the child, "you do not appear to know the way yourself." While some were instructing, others were visiting, and persuading parents and youth to avail themselves of the means of grace provided for them. The people of colour have not been overlooked, nor have they been thrust away into a few seats in the galleries, but especial efforts have been made to instruct them, and provide good seats for them, so that they might feel that Christians imitate their heavenly Father, in some degree at least, in not being respecters of persons. A large proportion of the accessions to the churches have been from the Sabbath schools and Bible classes. A few children have made a public profession of religion, some of them being seven or eight years old. In all cases, individuals applying for admission to the church, attend a meeting of the session, and are examined faithfully with respect to the hope they entertain of having submitted to Christ. In some of the Free Churches it is the practice to *propound* (or, as the term is with you, *propose*) such persons as give evidence of piety, one month previous to their admission to the church. With all this care, a few cases of discipline have occurred, but in a majority of them, the subjects of discipline have been those received by letter from other churches in the same communion, or of other denominations.

A statement with regard to a single male Bible class, in one of the churches, will give you an idea of the method adopted in all these churches to give biblical instruction to youth of both sexes in separate classes. Two or three young men, who were loitering about near the church, were invited to come in and take seats apart, to see if they would like biblical instruction. After the morning service they agreed to become scholars. Each was desired to bring a new scholar in the afternoon. They did so, and others were invited to take seats with them. The adoption

of a rule, that no professor of religion should be admitted without bringing a non-professor to the class, was the means of many impenitent persons being brought under instruction. The class met an hour and a half before the morning and evening services on the Lord's day, in the body of the church. A suitable library was established, and the teacher lent the scholars such books as in his judgment were adapted to their circumstances, giving the impenitent Baxter's Call, &c. &c., and biographies of devoted missionaries, &c., to the young converts. One of the scholars acted as librarian. The scholars were encouraged to purchase Polyglott Bibles of the librarian, and to pay for them by small instalments, if unable to pay for them at once. The Gospel of Matthew was taken up in portions of about half a chapter for a lesson, according to the subjects. The teachers in the other departments of the Sabbath school, members of the church generally, and especially the young converts, were actively engaged in persuading inactive professors, and the impenitent, wherever they met them, to unite with this class. Within twelve months, twenty-five of the young men in the class became teachers in the Sabbath schools, three began studying with a view to the ministry, twenty-seven were hopefully converted, and thirty-seven in all united with the church. The principal objects with the teacher were the immediate conversion of sinners, and inculcating upon professors of religion their duty to be co-workers with God in converting the world; and the Lord greatly blessed the agency employed.

A Bible class for females, taught by another elder of the church, occupied the lecture-room, and in two years eighty-five were hopefully converted in this class.—The number in this class varied from fifty to eighty. It was a great advantage to have them in a separate room, free from noise, so that their minds need not be diverted, but kept solemnly fixed upon the instructions. The impenitent were brought into the class mainly by the Christians that belonged to it. They were always urged to do this, and to pray for their conversion, especially during the hours of instruction. The great aim of the teacher was the conversion of the scholar the first time she attended, and his main hope was during the first three Sabbaths they came. After a scholar had joined the class, the teacher took down her residence, visited her as soon as practicable, and held personal conversation with her about the salvation of her soul. In view of what God has effected by this agency, there appears to have been most success with the scholars who did not live with professors of religion. This arose probably from two causes; 1. Their not being gospel-hardened; and, 2. From their not having some lukewarm professor near them over whom to stumble.

It is the usual practice in these churches, on Sabbath evenings, to invite those who are resolved on immediate submission to God, or are willing to be conversed or prayed with respecting their

souls' salvation, to come forward and take seats in front of the pulpit, or to meet the minister and elders in the lecture-room immediately after the dismission of the congregation. And the church, on such occasions, are invited to stay and pray for the influences of the Holy Spirit, and to offer the prayer of faith for the immediate conversion of sinners. The results have been cheering, and many sinners have, on these solemn occasions, been "led quite to Christ."

The ministers of these Free Churches have moderate salaries, the church edifices are plainly built, and all the expenses attending public worship are on an economical scale. No one is admitted to the churches, on profession or by letter, who will not pledge himself or herself to abstain wholly from the manufacture, sale, or use of ardent spirit. The use of tobacco, also, can be said scarcely to exist in these churches. It is inculcated on the members to practise temperance in eating, and plainness in dress and furniture. When it is considered that the cost of the tobacco used in this country is estimated to be more than the expense of supporting the ministers of every denomination, and that a world is perishing for want of the gospel, it surely behooves Christians not to indulge in any habit or luxury at the expense of the souls of their fellow-men.

The minister of the first Free Church gave public notice to the people of his former charge, that he would not unite in marriage any member of his church with an unbeliever; and the sinfulness of such unhallowed marriages is inculcated by all the ministers of these churches. They believe they were expressly forbidden under the Old Testament dispensation, and also in the New Testament. They cannot, then, but put the question to their people, with solemnity, "Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?"

Collections are taken at every service; and on communion Sabbaths (the first in every month) the church members deposite in the boxes the sums they severally agree to pay statedly for the support of public worship. The deficiency is made up annually by a subscription among those members of the church who possess the means of contributing. Besides these, collections are frequently made for special objects of Christian benevolence. The congregations are chiefly composed of people in moderate circumstances, and of strangers. Although some persons of property belong to these churches, and others of this description, after being hopefully converted in them, have united with other churches, still the principal efforts are made to bring in the neglected, the poor, the emigrant, and those who, in the arrangements in the old churches, have been almost entirely overlooked.

Do not understand me as asserting that *all* the members of these churches are active, prayerful, and consistent. It is not so. There are not a few, it is to be feared, who sit idly by while a world is perishing; who, after having solemnly pledged themselves

to live for Christ, do little or nothing to build up his kingdom, and regenerate the world. Great must be the condemnation of such professors!

It is easy to see that, could suitable ministers be procured, it would be no difficult thing for the members of the Free Churches to organize many new churches every year. As it is, *one* new church has been organized every year since the system was commenced in this city. More than enough are added to them from the world annually to compose a large church. In fact, could the right kind of ministers be procured, each of the Free Churches could easily colonize and build up a new church every year, and these again adopt the same system. We think a church cannot act efficiently when it is composed of more than 200 or 300 members, although we are too unwilling to urge off our brethren that they may commence other enterprises for the Lord Jesus. It is a great mistake to suppose it requires wealth or large numbers to maintain public worship, for in a city like this, a few young Christians, who can raise 1,000 or 1,500 dollars to begin with, hire a hall, and procure a preacher, can support public worship without difficulty, and make it instrumental of great good. God, in his holy providence, will, if they are prayerful, self-denying, and efficient, give them converts in the course of the year, whose contributions, added to their own, and the public collections, will enable them to maintain, respectably, preaching and the accompanying means of grace. And such churches might be built up in every city, and in many villages. Why should they not be extended throughout Christendom! And it may well engage the prayerful consideration of Christians, if such churches are not more in accordance with the spirit of the gospel than those that have been organized by the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations usually. We see what wonderful success our Methodist brethren have had by alluring to their houses of worship the middling classes of society; "firing low," as their great leader, Wesley, enjoined it upon them. That eminent man well understood the philosophy of the subject, and knew that moral influence ascends in society, and especially in a republic. How greatly is this principle overlooked by many who essay to enlighten the world!—Let us not be ashamed to copy from the Methodists, or from any denomination, measures and modes of preaching that are blessed by the Holy Spirit; especially ministers and others would do well not to refuse to copy the example of Jesus Christ, who certainly well understood in what way to influence, most effectually, human society.

An extraordinary impulse is given to young Christians, when responsibilities like those described are assumed in the fear of the Lord; and they then feel that it is both a duty and a pleasure to bestow the money intrusted to them in building up the Redeemer's kingdom. Clerks in stores have subscribed 100 dollars per

annum, and young merchants double or treble that amount; while others, without large means, have cheerfully given from 500 to 1,000 dollars a year for the support of public worship; and this, too, while they did not neglect more public calls to give money for the conversion of the world. The members of these churches have been pressed to relinquish their ownership of the property committed to them by the great Head of the church, and to hold it as stewards, to be laid out (the whole of it) in building up his kingdom, and converting the world. And some of them, it is confidently believed, aim to act upon this obvious principle of the gospel.

Free churches, on similar principles, have been organized in many other places since the commencement of the system in this city, and generally attended, as there is reason to believe, with the smiles of Divine Providence. Why should it be otherwise? Free seats attract the poor, and those who are unable or unwilling to purchase or hire pews; sitting promiscuously in the house of God abates the pride of the rich; and it is well that men should feel humble before each other, at least in the sanctuary of the Almighty. And the system of labour adopted is calculated to bring into personal activity every member of the church.

I have said that a new church might be organized in this city every year, out of each of the Free churches, *provided suitable ministers could be obtained.* Great difficulty and delay arise on this account; for it requires preachers of peculiar talents to be successful in Free churches. They must be "scribes well instructed"—Christians of much religious experience—of a revival spirit—sound theologians—ready extemporaneous speakers—not afraid of "new measures," nor disposed to substitute expediency for duty; and in all respects thorough-going Christian reformers. Such ministers will not have sleepy congregations, nor will the members of their churches be at ease in Zion, or so conform to the world that it is difficult to distinguish them from those who have no hope in Christ. We bless God that measures are in rapid progress to educate young ministers, who will have the courage to preach the whole gospel, and take a strong hold of the blessed work of converting the world to God. May the Lord Jesus Christ hasten the day when our young men, on being converted, will, in the spirit of the youthful Paul, desire above all things to be heralds of salvation; and when Christian merchants, mechanics, farmers, and others, will "buy, and sell, and get gain," not to consume it upon their lusts, but to fill the treasury of the Lord!

I have thus, dear sir, given you the history of the Free Churches in this city to the present time, and have ventured to offer such suggestions as seemed pertinent to the subject. Should you or others see fit to introduce the system into London, it cannot, I think, but be attended with such happy success, as to evince that

it is a system in favour with God and man. In conclusion, allow me to remark, that there are two peculiarities in the history of our churches that specially need reformation: 1. Expending so much of the Lord's money in enriching and embellishing houses of public worship; and, 2. Neglecting the great body of the community, adults and children. These things can be and should be remedied. When I have seen in some of our churches a communion service of massive plate, splendid chandeliers, and costly architecture and furniture, I have been reminded of the anecdote of Oliver Cromwell on visiting York Minster. In one of the apartments the Protector noticed twelve niches, in which were the statues of the twelve apostles in solid silver. "What have you there?" inquired Cromwell. On being told, he exclaimed, "Take them down, coin them, and let them go about doing good." Is it not true, that the mere interest of the capital at present invested in superfluous architecture and furniture in churches, is greater than the whole annual contribution of the Protestant churches in Christendom for the spread of the gospel? It may not be practicable to take down and coin all these useless investments, and send the proceeds about doing good, but the present generation will be guilty before God, if they do not take heed not to run into such excess of folly, in lavishing upon embellishment funds that should be expended in multiplying churches, and winning souls to Christ.

With high respect, I remain, dear sir,
Yours, in the bonds of the Gospel,
LEWIS TAPPAN.

STATISTICAL RETURNS *taken by the Deputation in the Course of their Journeys.*

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NEW-YORK	-----			
Presbyterians and Scotch Church	-----	32	----	10,354
Reformed Dutch	-----	14	----	3,800
Episcopalians	-----	23	----	3,922
Baptists	-----	20	----	4,839
Episcopal Methodists	-----	11	----	5,172
Other Methodists	-----	9	----	2,500
Friends	-----	6		
German Lutherans	-----	2	----	500
Moravians	-----	1	----	100
Evang. Congregationalists	-----	1	----	150
Catholics	-----	5	40,000	
Unitarians	-----	2		
Universalists	-----	3	8,000	
Jews	-----	3		
PHILADELPHIA	200,000			
Presbyterians	-----	24		
Episcopalians	-----	11		
Episcopal Methodists	-----	10		
Reformed Dutch	-----	2		
Reformed Presbyterians	-----	2		
Quakers	-----	10		
Lutherans	-----	4		
German Reformed	-----	2		
Universalists	-----	2		
Unitarians	-----	1		
Christian Baptists	-----	1		
Jews' Synagogues	-----	2		
Moravians	-----	1		
Roman Catholics	-----	6		
Miscellaneous	-----	11		
BALTIMORE	100,000			
Catholics	-----	6		
Methodists	-----	8		
Presbyterians	-----	5		
Baptists	-----	4		

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
BALTIMORE—*continued.*				
Unitarians	-----	1		
Episcopalians	-----	4		
Reformed Church	-----	1		
Assoc. Reformed	-----	3		
Quakers	-----	---	500	
BOSTON				
Congregationalists	-----	9		
Baptists	-----			
Unitarians	-----	13		
Episcopalians	-----			
WASHINGTON	20,000			
Presbyterians	-----	4	1,500	625
Episcopalians	-----	2	12,000	500
Methodists	-----	7	3,000	1,900
Baptists	-----	4	300	150
Catholics	-----	2	2,000	1,600
Unitarians	-----	1	250	50
Quakers	-----	1	50	
Germans	-----	1	200	
GEORGETOWN	7,500			
Different Denominations	-----	6	2,800	
ALEXANDRIA	7,000			
Presbyterians	-----	2	700	370
Episcopalians	-----	2	700	300
Methodists	-----	2	1,200	600
Baptists	-----	1	400	120
Catholics	-----	1	800	
Quakers	-----	1	400	
Col. Methodists	-----	1	200	
NEWBURGH	3,300			
Different Denominations	-----	---	3,000	
MORRISTOWN	3,500			
Different Denominations	-----		2,500	700
NEWARK	13,000			
Presbyterians	-----	5	4,000	1,300
Africans	-----	1	1,500	150
Episcopalians	-----	1	700	
Baptists	-----	2	400	260
Methodists	-----	4	1,700	700
Catholics	-----	1	1,200	
German Reformed	-----	1	150	

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NEWARK—*continued.*				
Dutch Reformed	-----	1	300	
Scotch Presbyterians	-----		100	
Universalists				
Unitarians				
Christians				
BUFFALO	13,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	1,000	350
Free ditto	-----	1	400	220
Baptists	-----	1	400	150
Episcopalians	-----	1	600	200
Methodists	-----	1		200
Reformed Methodists	-----	1	200	
Germans	-----	1	800	80
Catholics	-----	1	300	
Universalists	-----	1	40	
Unitarians	-----	1		
Lutherans	-----	1		
DUNKIRK	600			
Presbyterians	-----	1	100	75
Methodists	-----	1		
SANDUSKY	700			
Episcopalian Methodists	-----	--	100	
Presbyterians	-----	1	100	30
COLUMBUS	3,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	1		
Episcopalians	-----	1		
Catholics	-----	1		
Shakers	-----	1		
CINCINNATI	30,000			
Presbyterians	-----	6	2,300	
Methodists	-----	4	3,500	
Baptists	-----	2	800	
Episcopalians	-----	2	600	
Unitarians	-----	1	400	
Catholics	-----	1	4,000	
German Lutheran	-----	2	500	
Swedes	-----	1	150	
Campbellite Baptists	-----	1	200	
Jews' Synagogue	-----	1	100	

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
MARIETTA	2,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1		
Baptists	-----	1		
Episcopalians	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	2	1,200	500
ZANESVILLE	-----	-----		
Presbyterians	-----	1		
Baptists	-----	1		
Episcopalians	-----	1	3,200	
Catholics	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	2		
LEXINGTON	6,000			
Presbyterians	-----	2	1,200	300
Baptists	-----	2		
Methodists	-----	1	1,000	400
Reformed Methodists	-----	1	100	
African Church	-----	1	1,000	
Episcopalians	-----	1	500	100
STAUNTON	2,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	500	225
Methodists	-----	1	600	300
Episcopalians	-----	---	200	
CHARLOTTESVILLE	1,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	350	100
Baptists	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	1	250	
Episcopalians	-----	1		
PETERSBURGH	7,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	600	300
Methodists	-----	1	600	300
Baptists	-----	1	400	100
Episcopalians	-----	1	250	60
Coloured	-----	3	1,000	800
RICHMOND	15,000			
Presbyterians	-----	2	800	500
Episcopalians	-----	1	600	
Baptists (many coloured)	-----	3	-----	2,000
Methodists	-----	2	1,000	800
Mission Chap. Presbyterians	-----	1	200	
Catholics	-----	1	350	
Quakers and Jews	-----	---	100	
Unitarians	-----	1	150	

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
FREDERICSBURGH	4,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	400	220
Episcopalians	-----	1	400	200
Baptists	-----	1	500	300
Methodists	-----	1	300	100
Campbellites	-----	1	110	
ALBANY	32,000			
Presbyterians	-----	4	3,800	1,650
Dutch Reformed	-----	2	1,200	500
Methodists	-----	3	2,100	500
Baptists	-----	1	800	350
Covenanters	-----	1	200	
Reformed Presbyterians	-----	1	300	
Episcopalians	-----	2	800	200
Catholics	-----	1	2,500	
Reformed Lutherans	-----	1	300	
Universalists	-----	1	500	
African Church	-----	1	200	
Primitive Methodists	-----	---	100	
Quakers	-----	---	50	
TROY	15,000			
Presbyterians	-----	5	3,000	1,500
Episcopalians	-----	2	1,200	300
Methodists	-----	---	1,600	900
Baptists	-----	---	1,000	400
Catholics	-----	---	2,000	
Unitarians	-----	---	200	
		2	350	100
			200	
UTICA	12,000			
Presbyterians	-----	3	2,300	1,000
Methodists	-----	2	1,000	
Baptists	-----	1		
Dutch Reformed	-----	---	300	50
Episcopalians	-----	---	1,000	few.
Catholics	-----	1	2,000	
Welsh	-----	3	1,000	
Universalists	-----	1	300	
Baptists	-----	---	400	200
NORTHAMPTON	4,800			
Congregational Orthodox	-----	2	2,000	

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
NORTHAMPTON—*continued.*				
Unitarians	-----	1	140	
Episcopalians	-----	1	100	
WEST HAMPTON				
Congregationalists	-----	1	500	200
Separatists	-----	1	150	
WHITESBOROUGH	1,200			
Presbyterians	-----	1		
Baptists	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	1		
SCHENECTADY	7,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	600	250
Dutch Reformed	-----	1	600	250
Methodists	-----	1	400	200
Baptists	-----	1	300	200
Episcopalians	-----	1	300	50
Reformed Presbyterians	-----	---	100	70
Catholics	-----	---	300	
CONCORD	4,000			
Congregationalists	-----	1	700	470
Methodists	-----	1	400	250
Baptists	-----	1	400	300
Unitarians	-----	---	400	100
LOWELL	13,000			
Congregationalists	-----	3	2,500	1,000
Baptists	-----	2	1,800	700
Methodists	-----	---	800	300
Episcopalians	-----	---	500	
Unitarians	-----	---	700	100
Universalists	-----	---	500	
Catholics	-----	---	1,000	
Free-will Baptists	-----	---	300	6[illegible]
Christians	-----	---	150	
NEW-HAVEN	10,000			
Congregationalists	-----	8	5,000	1,400
Episcopalians	-----	2	4,500	500
Baptists	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	1		
Roman Catholics	-----	1	150	
Universalists	-----	1		
HARTFORD	-----			
Congregationalists	-----	4	2,950	1,300

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
HARTFORD—*continued.*				
Baptists	-----	2	800	200
Episcopalians	-----	1	800	150
Methodists	-----	1	450	225
Roman Catholics	-----	1	250	
Africans	-----	1	200	60
Universalists	-----	1	600	
DERBY	2,500			
Presbyterians	-----	1	1,300	295
10 District Schools, in which the Minister preaches.				
SACO	4,000			
Congregationalists	-----	1	1,000	200
Baptists	-----	1	200	40
Episcopalians	-----	1	200	45
Methodists	-----	1	300	100
Unitarians	-----	1	200	
Free-will Baptists	----	1	100	
ERIE	1,500			
Presbyterians	-----	1	500	289
Baptists	-----	1	150	50
Presbyterian Seceders	-----	1	300	
GENEVA	3,500			
Presbyterians	-----	1	750	
Assoc. Reformed	-----	1		
Dutch Reformed	-----	1		
Baptists	-----	1		
Methodists	-----	1	1,500	
Episcopalians	-----	1		
Universalists	-----	1		
ELMIRA	3,000			
Presbyterians	-----	1	550	200
Episcopalians	-----	1	60	----
Baptists	-----	1	150	60
Methodists	-----	1	250	160
ORWELL	1,500			
Presbyterians	-----	1	350	75
Methodists	-----	1	300	80
Baptists	-----	1	80	50
WILKESBARRE	2,200			
Presbyterians	-----	1	600	135

	Population.	Places of Worship.	Hearers.	Communicants.
WILKESBARRE—*continued.*				
Methodists	.....	1	350	
Episcopalians	.....	1	126	
DANVILLE	1,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	220
Methodists	.....	1	200	100
Episcopalians	.....	1	30	3
LEWISTOWN	4,000			
Presbyterians	.....	2		440
Episcopalians	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
Methodists	.....	1		
Universalists	.....	1		
EBENSBURGH	1,000			
Congregationalists	.....	1	400	200
Baptists	.....	1	150	60
PITTSBURGH	25,000			
Different Denominations	.....	30	13,140	7,095
CHAMBERSBURGH	3,500			
Presbyterians	.....	1	600	
German Lutherans	.....	2	800	
Methodists	.....	1		
Roman Catholics	.....	1		
Secession	.....	1		
Baptists	.....	1		
LANCASTER	10,000			
Different Denominations	.....	11		

Smaller Denominations, which cannot be divided among the different States, the Proportions not being known.

	Population.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
Unitarians	-----	150	170	-----
Evangelical Lutheran Church	-----	216	800	89,487
German Reformed Church	-----	180	600	30,000
Dutch Reformed Church	-----	167	197	21,115
Associate Presbyterians	-----	79	169	12,886
Free-will Baptists	-----	410	661	30,440
Six Principle Baptists	-----	9	25	1,672
Free Communion Baptists	-----	----	----	-----
Seventh-day Baptists	-----	42	32	4,258
New-Jerusalem Church	-----	----	----	-----
Cumberland Presbyterians	-----	70	110	15,000
Associate and other Methodists	-----	400	----	50,000
Friends	220,000	----	450	-----
Universalists	-----	350	550	----
Shakers	-----	----	----	-----
Roman Catholics	550,000	----	----	-----
Jews	15,000	----	----	-----
		2,073	3,764	259,858
Deduct Miscellaneous Denominations, added to Pennsylvania and New-York		548	1,111	59,307
		1,525	2,653	200,551

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS FOR THE WHOLE TWENTY-FOUR STATES.

	STATES.	Population in 1830.	PRESBYTERIANS.			CONGREGATIONALISTS.			METHODISTS.			BAPTISTS.			EPISCOPALIANS.			MISCELLANEOUS.			TOTAL.		
			Mins.	Chs.	Comts.	Min	Chs.	Comts.	Mins.	Chs.	Comts.	Min	Chs.	Comts.	Mins	Chs.	Cts.	Mins.	Chs.	Comts.	Mins.	Chs.	Comts.
1	Maine	399,462	—	—	—	114	172	13,019				162	222	15,000	7	—	—				283	394	28,019
2	New-Hampshire	269,533	—	—	—	117	152	18,347				78	90	6,505	9	—	—				204	242	24,852
3	Vermont	280,679	—	—	—	177	206	22,291	376	376	45,915	81	123	10,525	14	—	—	184	190	—	272	331	32,816
4	Massachusetts	610,014	—	—	—	257	283	46,064				220	188	20,200	35	—	—				612	472	66,264
5	Rhode Island	97,212	—	—	—	10	10	1,300				17	20	3,271	14	—	—				41	30	4,571
6	Connecticut	297,711	—	—	—	230	226	29,579				97	92	10,039	63	—	—				391	318	39,618
7	New-York	1,913,508	668	676	75,487	30	30	—	142	142	30,477	545	605	60,006	180	—	—	208	231	16,500	*376	376	45,915
8	New-Jersey	320,779	129	152	17,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	60	4,000	22	—	—	—	—	—	1,773	1,684	182,470
9	Pennsylvania	1,347,672	337	475	50,988	—	—	—	252	252	74,106	133	151	11,404	71	—	—	340	880	42,807	211	193	21,000
10	Ohio	937,679	256	368	25,000	—	—	—	155	155	51,460	166	240	10,000	24	—	—	—	—	—	1,133	1,829	179,305
11	Indiana	341,582	49	91	3,791	—	—	—	60	60	20,035	201	299	11,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	601	803	86,160
12	Illinois	157,575	31	41	1,263	—	—	—	46	46	30,000	123	154	4,500	8	—	—	—	—	—	318	450	34,826
13	Delaware	76,739	8	15	1,869	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	9	420	—	—	—	—	—	—	200	241	8,763
14	Maryland	446,913	51	27	3,600	—	—	—	139	139	49,000	23	34	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	18	29	2,249
15	Virginia	1,211,272	80	94	9,000	—	—	—	115	115	41,000	261	435	54,000	51	—	—	—	—	—	264	200	53,920
16	North Carolina	738,470	75	129	9,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	213	339	19,000	55	—	—	—	—	—	511	644	104,000
17	South Carolina	581,438	106	144	8,300	—	—	—	74	74	47,000	231	273	28,000	19	—	—	—	—	—	307	468	28,800
18	Georgia	516,567				—	—	—	81	81	33,000	233	486	37,000	37	—	—	—	—	—	365	429	79,150
19	Alabama	308,000	30	39	1,816	—	—	—	49	49	11,000	145	250	11,000	4	—	—	—	—	—	371	649	74,150
20	Mississippi	136,000	23	34	1,011	—	—	—	50	50	10,000	39	85	3,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	227	338	23,816
21	Louisiana	215,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700	3	—	—	—	—	—	115	169	14,011
22	Tennessee	684,000	109	144	10,000	—	—	—	106	106	30,000	243	413	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	16	700
23	Kentucky	688,000	70	92	7,160	—	—	—	89	89	26,000	258	484	33,000	8	—	—	—	—	—	466	663	60,000
24	Missouri	140,000	16	32	1,476	—	—	—	47	47	7,000	93	146	5,000	9	—	—	—	—	—	426	685	66,160
															—	—	—	—	—	—	156	225	13,476
	Miscellaneous Denominations																				9,554	11,868	1,305,351
																					1,525	2,653	200,551
																					11,079	14,511	1,505,902

* The Methodist Denomination do not divide their numbers in New-England among the different States statistically, so that they are put in one number at the close of New-York.

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